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ACROSS THE RED-GREEN SEA

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ABSTRACT

According to René Girard myths narrate the founding murder, which resolves the mimetic crisis. As a consequence, myths contain motifs symbolizing both the mimetic crisis and the founding murder. In Slovene folklore the mimetic crisis is often rendered by the image of the sea, particularly the red and/or green sea, as an undifferentiated, formless entity, or a principle of a state before the emergence of social structure or of a state during and after its downfall. This paper compares representations of the sea in Slovene folk songs and tales and in some Slovene poets and painters.

Key words: René Girard, myth, sea, colours, folk songs, literature, art

ATTRAVERSO IL MARE ROSSO-VERDE

SINTESI

René Girard afferma che i miti raccontano dell'assassinio fondativo, l'evento che risolve la crisi mimetica. I miti contengono i motivi che a livello simbolico raffigurano tanto la crisi mimetica che l'assassinio fondativo. Nella tradizione popolare slovena la crisi mimetica viene spesso raffigurata dal mare, in particolare dal mare verde e/o rosso, spazio né strutturato né differenziato che rappresenta la situazione precedente alla comparsa della struttura sociale e oltre alla stessa. Nel presente saggio l'autrice mette a confronto la rappresentazione del mare nelle canzoni e nelle favole popolari slovene e nelle opere di alcuni poeti e pittori sloveni.

Parole chiave: René Girard, mito, mare, colori, tradizione popolare, poesia, pittura

INTRODUCTION

According to René Girard (1996), human society comes into being after the mimetic crisis – the fierce and chaotic fight fueled by mimetic desire – subsides by the means of the founding murder; i.e., when the mob lynches one individual. The murdering of an individual victim is the basis for the formation and the reinforcement of both the ties holding a community together and the community's twisted self-awareness. In critical situations, such as wars, natural disasters, epidemics, etc., human communities face the danger of passions and violence brimming over into a mimetic crisis, thus threatening the very survival of the social ties within the community and hence the community itself. To avoid this, human communities have developed two ways in which they continuously re-enforce their inner social ties and remind themselves of the horror of the mimetic crisis and the founding murder: the ritual sacrifice and the mythical narration. While the ritual sacrifice reenacts the mimetic crisis and the founding murder in a »controlled environment«, the myth re-presents both of these events. The sacrificial offering keeps the community's violence under control by entrusting the obligation to murder to a singular chosen individual – i.e. the priest – and by resorting to less and less cruel and less and less obvious methods of sacrifice; yet the myth is also crucial for hiding violence and disguising it by changing it into other motifs: the sacrificial murder of the victim (or, in mythical narration, the hero) can be turned into suicide or the hero's departure for the/an other land/world, or the victim's/heroine's wedding to a mythical creature, such as *povodni mož*, the man of waters. As the motif of violence and murder is transformed, so too are the symbols of the mimetic crisis. Among these Girard (1999; 2003) enlists the confusion of day and night or sky and earth, creatures with human, animalistic and divine features (e.g., a snake which changes into a prince; creatures with supernumerary body parts, such as snakes with nine tails), incessant conflicts (frequently among twins) and natural catastrophes.

In this paper, I will try to show that the sea in Slovene folklore can often be seen as a symbol of the mimetic crisis. The human mind envisages the sea as endless and majestic. Chevalier and Gheerbrant's opening of the »Sea« entry in their *Dictionary of Symbols* delineates these qualities brilliantly: »Because of their apparently limitless extent, seas and oceans are images of the primal undifferentiated state of primeval formlessness« (Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1996, 836). By being an undifferentiated and inarticulate space, which is ultimately out of control, the sea is an apt symbol of the state before the formation of the social structure or of a state threatening to destroy the social structure. What I am particularly interested in are the narrations depicting the sea as green

and/or red. In my opinion, this chromatic combination enhances the mimetic-crisis symbolism of the sea.

After considering the semiotic view of the two colours and the symbolism of red, green and the sea, I will endeavor to support my thesis with examples from Slovene folklore, literature and painting.

COLOUR, AN EVASIVE CATEGORY

In the essay »How Culture Conditions the Colours We See« Umberto Eco (1996) shows that different languages divide the chromatic spectrum into individual colors (and hence words for colors) in different ways. While differences in the mental/linguistic perception of the color spectrum may be synchronic, shifts can also be expected to be observed from a diachronic perspective.

By relating a passage from Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* from the 2nd century AD and by providing examples from other ancient Roman authors, Eco warns that the Latin word *flavus*, for instance, denotes the colour shades resulting from a mixture of green and white or green, white and red. In Roman times these colour shades were classified as either red or green. Thus the Latin word *flavus* is used to describe Dido's blond hair, the muddy waters of the Tiber, and – olive leaves. Chevalier and Gheerbrant (1996) point to a similar phenomenon: *sinopsis*, they say, was originally used in Low Latin to denote the reddish brown soil – or the pigment made from it – from the Black Sea port of Sinope; yet in the 14th century *sinopsis* meant both red and green. The way in which words cover the color spectrum therefore changes over time.

This phenomenon still reverberates in the relative elasticity of words for colours: blood, wine and hair can all be said to be red, although the first two shades may be very different and the third shade might be, if referring to a cloth, rendered by the words brown and orange. Furthermore, golden or yellowish wine is called white, and the white, pale complexion of an ill person is described as greenish in English, but literally *zelen*, green, in Slovene.

It is therefore necessary to apply a good deal of caution when we interpret the meaning of words for colours in old texts; they may not denote the same colours today as they did in the past. In semiotic terms, we could say that we know the sign's level of expression but not its level of content.

Let us now leave behind the way languages correspond to the physical wave lengths of colour light, and turn to the symbolic meanings of colours. In this respect, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (2006) show that »colour codes« are far from being universal and that individual colours can acquire very diverse meanings in different contexts. Usually, a particular colour has a strictly specific meaning only for a relatively small and specialized community.

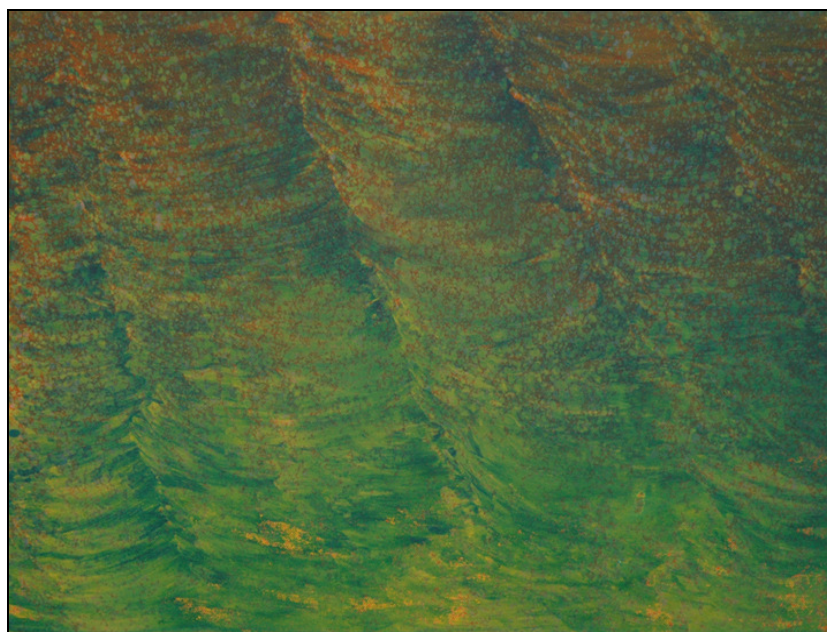


Fig. 1: Alenka Koderman: From the Sea Cycle, 2008, acrylic on canvas, 45 x 60 cm.

Sl. 1: Alenka Koderman: Iz cikla Morje, 2008, akril na platnu, 45 x 60 cm.

Hence we should deduce that our understanding of words for colours and of their symbolic meanings is anything but certain. How, then, can we know what colours, e.g., green and red with reference to the sea, in such texts as folk songs mean? Considering that poetry has often borrowed from folklore, one might want to look at such dictions in modern literature; yet there is a possibility that they be a result of a literary convention. To verify the meanings of these colours, I confronted the literary images with the imagery in paintings and found that images in art mirror those in literature, while both show continuity with ancient symbolism. I therefore propose a hypothesis that in artistic expression, whether it be folklore, literature or visual art, symbolic meanings, including those of colours, may be much more persistent than in everyday language.

WHEN THE SEA IS RED, GREEN OR REDDISH GREEN: A SYMBOL OF THE MIMETIC CRISIS

In the passage from Aulus Gellius to which Eco refers, the author quotes Ennius (*Annales*, XIV, 372–3), who describes the sea as follows: »marmore *flauo* / *caeruleum* spumat mare« (as quoted in Aulus Gellius: Gellio, 2001, I/266; italics M. Šauperl). Favorinus, Gellius' interlocutor, is puzzled by Ennius' choice of words *flauo* and *caeruleum*, while he interprets them as red and green: »like red (?) marble the green sea foams«.

I became interested in this combination of colors when I suddenly realised that I had already come across it in relation to the sea in one of the Resian variants of

the Lepa Vida folk songs (Šauperl, 2009), a motif to which I will return later.

My enquiry departs from the question whether the descriptions of the sea as reddish green in old texts refer to shades of colors that we would today call by a different name, or should we trust our eyes and ears and believe that we understand the expression correctly. Furthermore, it is worth asking whether the expression refers to a homogeneous mixture, where red and green fuse into a monochromatic plane, or to a heterogeneous one, where spots of red and green alternate. Finally, we must be ready to accept the whole range of shades of the mixture, including both extremes, the »pure« green and the »pure« red.

Focusing on the paintings produced in or around Istria, examples of reddish-green seas range from the rather primitive ex-voto paintings in the church of St Mary Ascension in Strunjan, Slovenia (viz. those by Nicolò Fonda from 1823 and Giacomo Castro and sons from 1851; although, the reddish tone might be the result of ageing or dirt), to the Triestine marinist Ugo Flumiani (1876–1938), particularly his »Yachts in the Harbor«, and to recent works of Slovene artists. Janez Matelič's »Logbook« (2008) is an example of a homogeneous mixture, while Joni Zakonjšek's »Under the Surface – Red« (2004) and a series of Alenka Koderman's paintings exemplify heterogeneous mixtures of red and green (figures 1–3). There is no end to cases of completely red or completely green seas, such as Igor Bravničar's collection »Seas« from the years 2000–2004, which includes several (almost) monochromatic grass-green seas, or

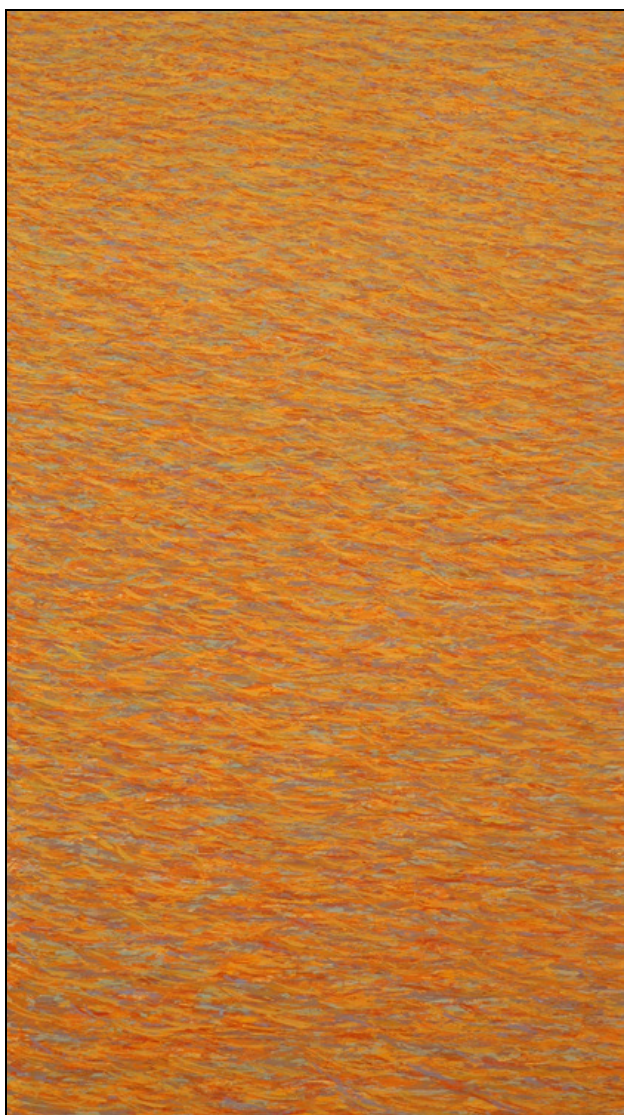


Fig. 2: Alenka Koderman: Lumière, 2008, acrylic on canvas, 160 x 90 cm.

Sl. 2: Alenka Koderman: Lumière, 2008, akril na platnu, 160 x 90 cm.

Matelič's completely red seas. Aleš Sedmak has both heterogeneous mixtures and green seas (figures 4–5).

Let us take a look at how Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant explain the symbolism of red and green in their *Dictionary of Symbols* (1996).

The bright red can symbolize »the mystery of life hidden on the dark floor of the primeval ocean depths«, while »[t]he 'wine-dark sea' of the Ancient Greeks and the 'Red Sea' [stand for] the womb in which life and death are transmuted one into the other« (Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1996, 793). Dark red, as all chthonic motifs, is ambiguous: when hidden, it appears to stand for life, whereas when spilt and visible it means death,

therefore signifying something untouchable. Furthermore, »red will always be the spoils of the war – or of the dialectic – between Heaven and Earth, the fire of the Sun and the fires of the Hell« (Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1996, 794).

According to Chevalier and Gheerbrant green may as well be »the colour of the awakening of the primeval waters« (Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1996, 451) and thus a regenerative life force, but also immortality and even passing and death. River and sea divinities and semidivinities are green or dressed in green, but green is also the colour of the divinities of regeneration – these »spend the Winter in the Underworld where they are regenerated by chthonian red [and as] a result they are externally green but internally red, and their rule extends over both worlds« (Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1996, 454).

The Slovene mythical figure Zeleni Jurij (Green George) may also be related to these divinities of regeneration. Zeleni Jurij, a bearer of opposing symbolic meanings, may be represented as wearing trousers with one red and one green trouser leg. Šmitek (2008) suggests that this might symbolize the alternating warm and cold halves of the year. This mythical hero returns every year »from behind the green grove, from behind the bloody sea« (»izza loga zelenoga, izza morja krvavoga«; SNP III, as quoted in Šmitek, 2004, 43). It is precisely this bloody sea that in Slovene mythology surrounds the world and represents the limit separating this world from »the other one«, life from death, with a »boatman« (»brodnik«; *ibid.*) providing a passage. Chevalier and Gheerbrant (1996), too, say that the sea is both an image of life and death, and that in mythologies of many peoples the sea represents a passage to the other world.

Returning to René Girard, if myths tell the story of victims – i.e., of their death or »departure for the other world« – then the space of this passage, the sea, is of crucial importance. While Girard discusses sacrifice by drowning (Girard, 2002), he does not list the sea among his many examples of symbols of the mimetic crisis. Yet the sea, this enormous, inarticulate, majestic body of water, fits his descriptions of the typical features of the mimetic crisis: entanglement, absence of differentiability, terrible chaos, conflict between life and death.

To better illustrate the case, let us look at how ancient Greeks and the Renaissance painter Giuseppe Arcimboldo imagined the sea.

Pierre Cordier (2007) shows how in antiquity the inhabitants of the Mediterranean coasts saw the sea as an element which is detached from this world and open to the world beyond and which is imbued with sanctity and populated with divinities. Ancient Greeks believed that the bodies of the drowned lingered *nowhere*, drifted towards some *no-place*. The underwater world haunted Ancient Greeks with horror, as they imagined it to be the reign of homophagy (feeding on raw meat) and alelophagy (feeding on meat of an individual of the same kind



Fig. 3: Alenka Koderman: Contemporaneity, 2008, acrylic on canvas, 30 x 60 cm.
Sl. 3: Alenka Koderman: Sočasnost, 2008, akril na platnu, 30 x 60 cm.

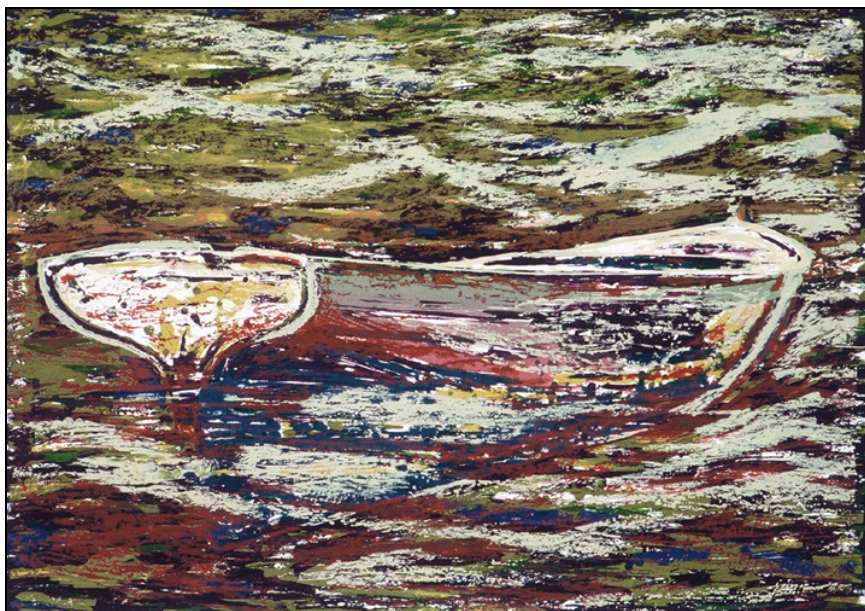


Fig. 4: Aleš Sedmak: Boat 003, 1990, serigraphy, 70 x 100 cm.
Sl. 4: Aleš Sedmak: Čoln 003, 1990, serigrafija, 70 x 100 cm.

as the eater). Ancient Greeks saw the underwater world as a place where all laws of nature were turned upside down. In their view, the ocean devoured its own children.

Surprisingly similar to this perception is a thought which we can find in the Slovene philosopher Taras Kermauner's interpretation of Arcimboldo's painting »Water»: »A myth is found in the Water, yet it is a completely pagan, a pre-neolithic myth, so to say, a myth

from a time when the human was not yet an institutional, organic creature: when the human was still only raw nature. [...] Archimboldo's nature is pre-natural, pre-human, from a time when life only crawled under water. A human as a humanistic creature does not exist. Not any more? Not yet? There is a human, but it is of an animal order: it is composed of the lower« (Kermauner, 1979, 20; translation M. Šauperl).¹

¹ »V Vodi odkrijemo mit, a povsem poganski, tako rekoč predneolitski, mit iz časov, ko človek sploh še ni bil institucionalno, organsko bitje: ko je bil še gola natura. [...] Arcimboldova natura pa je pranaturalna, predčloveška, iz dobe, ko je gomazelo življenje le v vodi. Človeka kot humanističnega bitja ni. Ne več? Še ne? Človek je, ampak isti kot živalstvo: sestavljen iz nižjega« (Kermauner, 1979, 20).



Fig. 5: Aleš Sedmak: A Man in a Boat, 1992, tempera – canvas – wood, 125 x 145 cm.
Sl. 5: Aleš Sedmak: Mož v čolnu, 1992, tempera – platno – les, 125 x 145 cm.

If we look at the Slovene myths about the end of the world – e.g., the fish *Faronika*, which bears the world on its back – we find that the Slovenes imagined the end of the world being caused by water, not fire (Kelemina, 1997; Šmitek, 2004). Girard (2007), on the other hand, writes that the end of the world, the apocalypse, is a metaphor of the mimetic crisis – of that particular mimetic crisis which does not culminate in and end with the founding murder, but which escalates to the eventual destruction of society. Although Girard does not explicitly name the sea among his examples of the mimetic crisis, he certainly argues that this symbolic meaning is present in the announcement of the end of the world. Hence if the sea is capable of causing the end of the world, as in Slovene mythology, then we can deduce that the sea does imply symbolism of the mimetic crisis.

Let us now take a look at some examples of traditional Slovene conceptions of the sea. In one of the myths about Kresnik, recorded by Jakob Kelemina, we read that this mythical hero and his twin brother »flew all the day high under the 'bloody sea'« (»Ves dan sta letela visoko pod 'krvavim morjem'«; Kelemina, 1997, 41; quotation marks by Kelemina). While for Girard, a possible symbol of the mimetic crisis is a fusion of sky and earth, Kelemina provides an example of a mixture of the sky and sea, which I interpret as a similar image. This sky/sea is the site of the fight of the hostile twin brothers, such a fight being – according to Girard – a characteristic symbol of the mimetic crisis. This sky/sea, where the duel takes place, is a »bloody sea«, an image that Kelemina seems

to have found interesting or intriguing enough to emphasize and distinguish it with quotation marks.

The Lepa Vida motif can be interpreted as a sacrificial myth in which Vida is a victim, offered by *Zamorec* (foreigner) or the Boatman from a *pisana* boat – *pisana* meaning variegated, but also hostile (Šauperl, 2009). In the Lepa Vida matter, there is a series of elements symbolizing the mimetic crisis, but I restrict my focus to the sea, the medium by which Vida crosses the line between life and death. The ambiguity of the sea as a passage between life and death is accentuated by the use of colours in the Resian variant »Lipa Vida,« where Vida and the Boatman roam the *čarnjelo*, red, and *zelëno*, green, sea for ever: »mij konca ni bilo,« »there was no end to it« (Vrčon, 1998, 173–174). Curiously, the red and green combination is also used by Rudi Šeligo in his play *Lepa Vida* (1978), where stage directions to scene 7 of act 2 instruct that the orgiastic scene which leads to Pedro de Alvarado being violently scapegoated take place under wild red and green lights (Šauperl, 2009).

While the Lepa Vida matter, not an exclusively Slovene motif (Grafenauer, 1943), has seen dozens of renditions in Slovene literature (Pogačnik, 1988), many other folklore motifs inspired Slovene writers and poets. One was Anton Aškerc (1856–1912), who employed the folk motifs he recorded in the Slovene fishing villages between Trieste and Duino. The resulting collection of poems, *Jadranski biseri*, 'Adriatic Pearls', was published in 1908 (Aškerc, 1989). Aškerc's sea is inhabited by a green or black devil and other mythical creatures, such as

mermaids, which tempt fishermen and may take their lives. These creatures, together with their space, the sea, thus provide a passage between life and death. The sea itself in Aškerc's poems is »immeasurable and deep« (the poem »Potok in morje«, 'The Brook and the Sea'). The sea continuously changes its colour (the poem »Dekle in morje«, 'The Girl and the Sea'). Both the immensurability and the mutability of the colour symbolize the turmoil of the mimetic crisis. Aškerc's sea is often green (e.g., the poems »Kapitan«, 'Captain', »Noč ribiča Petra«, 'Fisherman Peter's Night', »Jutna pesem ribičeva«, 'The Fisherman's Morning Song', »Ribičeva ljubica«, 'The Fisherman's Lover') and even *zeleno višnjevo*, green – cherry red (the poem »Podmorski zakladi«, 'Underwater Treasure'). Aškerc's sea, or its mythical inhabitants are authorities deciding on the mortals' fate (the poems »Kapitan«, 'Captain', and »Razžaljeno morje«, 'The Offended Sea').

A similar moral authority, aside from independence of spirit, is attributed to the sea by Oton Župančič (1878–1949) in the poem »Ob Kvarneru«, 'By the Gulf of Kvarner' (Kastelic et al., 1970). Here, Župančič, in what with respect to his Catholic background can be seen as quite a blasphemous gesture, describes the sea as older and mightier than »the holy cross«: »You don't want any true *catchpolls*, / Without eager helpers / *You yourself murder in your own name*. / When your horns howl for death, / *Bloody banners fly*, / Under the clouds you roll your black rage, / not fearing justice, law ...« (Kastelic et al., 1970, 482; translation and italics M. Šaupperl).²

Srečko Kosovel, too, in his poem »Jadro«, 'The Sail', calls the sea »sivin[a] žveplnih voda« (Kastelic et al., 1970, 775), i.e. »the grey of sulphuric waters« (Kosovel, 2008, 65; translation by Bert Pribac and David Brooks), as though hell were oozing through the sea surface. Chthonic also is the red, bloody sea in »Ekstaza smrti«, 'The Extasy of Death'; yet despite its apocalyptic quality it offers a faint hope of deliverance. Still violent, but markedly positive is the »red, red sea« in the poem »Tujci«, 'Foreigners' (Kosovel, 1977, 917), where it announces victory over fascism.

Let me conclude this brief – and far too incomplete – insight into the sea imagery in Slovene culture. One cannot overlook the fact that images of the red and/or green sea are indeed not limited to Slovene culture alone, but that they abound in mythologies, literatures and art worldwide. In many of them, red and green are used to disturb and to alert us to the monstrosity of the human; or as Vincent Van Gogh put it: »With green and red I have tried to give expression to the terrible passions of the human heart« (Van Gogh, 1888, as quoted in Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1996, 456).

CONCLUSION

According to Girard, the myth's role is to testify to the mimetic crisis and the founding murder, and to keep the memory of both alive. Performing this function, the myth disguises the violence involved in both events, yet it bears traces of both in symbolic representations. Girard shows that the apocalypse should be considered as a symbol of the mimetic crisis. In Slovene folklore, the apocalypse can be caused by the sea, which is sometimes described as red or bloody and constitutes the line between »this world« and »the world beyond«, between life and death. Although the interpretation of the names for colours and their symbolic meanings change in time and therefore demand caution, examples from art seem to confirm the hypothesis that red and green, and their combination or mixture, may mark the persistence of ancient symbolism and can be understood literally. Like Slovene folklore, modern Slovene poetry and painting still use green and/or red to characterize the sea. While an ambiguous relationship between life and death and the line between them are implied in each of these colours, this symbolic meaning is rendered even more markedly by the combination of both colours. The red, green, and red-green seas are thus warning symbols, alerting us to the danger of the mimetic crisis, the annihilation of society and »the end of the world«.

PO RDEČE-ZELENEM MORJU

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POVZETEK

Prispevek preizkuša konkretni in simbolni pomen rdeče in zelene barve v prispodobni morja kot simbola mimične krize. Po Renéju Girardu miti pripovedujejo o utemeljitvenem umoru, dogodku, ki razreši mimično krizo. Miti zato vsebujejo motive, ki simbolično predstavljajo tako mimično krizo kot utemeljitveni umor, vendar pri tem

² »Ti nočeš vernih krvnikov, / brez vnetih pomočnikov / ti samo v svojem imenu moriš. / Kadar tulijo tvoji rogovi na smrt, / zastave vihrajo krvave, / vališ pod oblaki svoj črni srd, / ne bojiš se pravice, postave ...« (Kastelic et al., 1970, 482; italics M. Šaupperl).

z različnimi postopki cenzurirajo nasilje obeh dogodkov. Apokalipsa je simbol mimetične krize, ki je ne razreši utemeljitveni umor, pač pa se stopnjuje do razkroja družbenih vezi. V slovenskem ljudskem izročilu apokalipso povzroča voda, ki prinese ribo Faroniko, še zlasti zeleno oziroma rdeče morje kot nečlenjen in nediferenciran prostor, ki predstavlja mejo med »tem« in »onim svetom«, med življenjem in smrtjo, ter v mitogenetskem smislu ponazarja stanje pred pojavom družbene strukture ali onkraj nje. Motiv vsemogočnega morja, včasih naseljenega z bajeslovnimi bitji, pogosto v kombinaciji z rdečo oziroma zeleno obarvanostjo, je navzoč vse do sodobnega pesništva (npr. Aškerc, Župančič, Kosovel). Čeprav moramo biti zaradi spremenljivosti pomena besed pri interpretaciji poimenovanj barv previdni, likovna umetnost potrjuje domnevo, da gre pri ljudski in pesniški prispodobitvi rdečih, zelenih in rdeče-zelenih morij za starodavno simboliko, pri kateri poimenovanja barv lahko razumemo v današnjem pomenu. Glede na to, da morje simbolno predstavlja mimetično krizo, rdeča in zelena barva pa že vsaka zase, zlasti pa še v povezavi, označujeta tako življenje in oživljanje kot smrt in onostranstvo, gre v prispodobitvi rdečega oziroma zelenega morja za zgoščanje simbolov, ki svariijo pred mimetično krizo, izničenjem družbe in »koncem sveta«.

Ključne besede: René Girard, mit, morje, barve, ljudsko izročilo, pesništvo, slikarstvo

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WATER IN ENGLISH CANADIAN LITERATURE: IMAGERY AND APPROPRIATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The author analyses some typical examples of water imagery in English Canadian literature, especially in the poetry of E. J. Pratt, A. Lampman, and Margaret Atwood, as well as in Atwood's novel Oryx and Crake. In the selected cases, water is used as a hostile and static element; particularly in the description of ice and snow, water is seen to lose its dynamic quality, thus being deprived of its original vitality and fertility. Though hostility may lend itself to interpretations derived from Northrop Frye's definition of the Canadian national myth, his definition must be taken with caution. As the example of Atwood's poetry shows, the hostility of water may also be interpreted as the hostility of the Other and/or the unconscious.

Key words: English Canadian poetry, water, Canadian cultural myth, language, imaginary, Northrop Frye

L'ACQUA NELLA LETTERATURA ANGLOCANADESE: IMMAGINARIO E APPROPRIAZIONE

SINTESI

Nell'articolo l'autore analizza alcuni esempi tipici di immagini mentali legate all'acqua evocate dal linguaggio poetico nella letteratura anglo-canadese, in particolare nella poesia di E. J. Pratt, A. Lampman, e Margaret Atwood, come pure nel romanzo della Atwood Oryx and Crake. Nei casi analizzati l'acqua è usata come elemento ostile e distruttivo, oppure come elemento statico; in particolare nella descrizione della neve e del ghiaccio l'acqua sembra perdere la sua natura dinamica, privandola della sua innata vitalità e fertilità. Una delle possibili chiavi di lettura dell'ostilità e dell'avversità dell'acqua potrebbe essere – non senza cautela – quella del mito nazionale canadese come definito da Northrop Frye. Come ci indica in particolare la poesia di Margaret Atwood, l'ostilità dell'acqua può significare anche l'ostilità dell'altro o/e dell'inconscio, il rapporto tra staticità e dinamicità invece va visto come relazione tra l'immaginario primordiale e le secondarie rappresentazioni simboliche.

Parole chiave: poesia anglo-canadese, acqua, mito culturale canadese, lingua, immaginario, Northrop Frye

INTRODUCTION: WATER AND IMAGERY

In this article, I will discuss the use of water imagery in English Canadian literature, in particular by analyzing some representative examples drawn from its corpus of poetry. Making use of the criticism of Northrop Frye and Margaret Atwood, I shall argue that in the selected cases water is used predominantly as a hostile element, which is, at least in part, due to the source images in the early English Canadian poetry.

In 1936, Edwin John Pratt published his *Silences*, a poem notable for its use of water imagery.¹ The poem begins with the following representation:

There is no silence upon the earth or under the earth
like the silence under the sea;
No cries announcing birth,
No sounds declaring death.

There is silence when the milt is laid on the spawn in
the weeds and fungus of the rock-clefts;
And silence in the growth and struggle for life.
The bonitoes pounce upon the mackerel,
And are themselves caught by the barracudas,
The sharks kill the barracudas
And the great molluscs rend the sharks,
And all noiselessly -
Though swift be the action and final the conflict,
The drama is silent.

{...} under the waves the blood is sluggard and has
the same temperature as that of the sea.

There is something pre-reptilian about a silent kill.

(Pratt, 1989, II, 3)

Although somewhat anachronistically, Pratt captures perfectly a particular imaginative quality, typical of a number of works of English Canadian literature. The poem – ending with a claim that a culture of perfect rage could grow only »where the inhabitants slay in silence and are as silently slain« – is abundant with images of water that can be defined as cold, aggressive, and antagonistic. The use of water imagery in Pratt's poetry is by no means rare. In examining the most notable instances of Pratt's sea imagery, Peter Buitenhuis as much as notes that »the sea is the central, if not the

dominant, image of his poetry« (Buitenhuis, 1977, 43),² while Patricia Jane Munro observes that the sea, as well as the ocean are most frequently used as a destructive force or a graveyard, although in some cases they also become a symbol of a creative and occasionally chaotic life force (Munro, 1970, 24). A similar observation, but from the chronological perspective, is made by Buitenhuis. According to him, Pratt's early poetry is filled with images of the sea as both destroyer and moral agent (Buitenhuis, 1977, 45), while in the latter poetry the ambiguity of the water element tends to disappear, especially in the war poems, such as *Dunkirk*, *Roosevelt and Antinoe*, and *Behind the Log*. However, the ambivalence is not done away with altogether. In *Behind the Log*, the sea may be a helpful power for the ally forces, but in the portrayal of the enemy, strongly antagonistic water imagery is used again. The Nazis are identified with »predatory fish«, and with »tiger sharks {...} finding habitats wherever there was open sea« – not killing for food, but killing »that food / should not be used as food« (Pratt, 1989, II, 151, v. 67–79).

Therefore, water is, at best, described in an ambivalent way, and the general impression given by Pratt's poetry, in particular his early poetry is that he uses images of water so as to emphasize its hostile and antagonistic nature. This is especially true of his long poems where the sea becomes »a high stage for Pratt's epic battles« (Buitenhuis, 1977, 47), and it is especially true of his poem, *The Titanic*. In *The Titanic*, the two previously handled themes are united: man's pride in the construction of a ship, and the theme of the iceberg. Especially through the latter, water and its frozen formations are loaded with negative connotations. The iceberg which causes the catastrophe is understood as an extension of water and its force – this identification of water with ice becomes clear no later than at the moment of collision, when the impact is so faint that it »seems like {the ship} hit a sea« (Pratt, 1989, I, 322, v. 540). Furthermore, the iceberg is denoted with a specific set of images from the very beginning of the poem, most notably as when it is referred to as a »paleolithic outline of a face,« or a »sloping spur that tapered to a claw« (Pratt, 1989, I, 305, v. 89, 91). It is the claw that later tears »the double skin« of the ship (Pratt, 1989, I, 305, v. 557–58), and in the closing lines of the poem it once again becomes a »grey shape with the Paleolithic face« (Pratt, 1989, I, 338, v. 1934).

1 The poem first published in *The Canadian Forum* was republished a year later in the collection *The Fable of the Goats and Other Poems* (Toronto, The Macmillan, 1937).

2 Buitenhuis is also one of the authors attributing this fact to the possible influence of the environment of Newfoundland in which Pratt spent his formative years, having »his youthful sensibility shaped by the sea« (Buitenhuis, 1977, 44). This thesis is also sustained by Sandra Djwa (e.g. Djwa, 1989, xii–xiv).

The paleolithic, that is to say the prehistoric nature of the iceberg is what unites *The Titanic* with *Silences* and its prehistoric creatures below the surface, but with regards to the iceberg, Pratt gives us another important clue. »I call it a paleolithic face,« he said in one of his interviews, »like a monster, a half-human and half, well, granite, ice, you see, remorseless and careless and indifferent« (Djwa, Pollock, 2009). Pratt's own denotations in the interview are very important, since they bring us to a specific understanding of nature itself. Nature, water and ice are, in Pratt's view, hostile to human action precisely because they are indifferent. The hostile nature thus becomes an all-encompassing existential threat, and man in his struggle with nature, regardless of his wish to control it, is rendered powerless.

WATER AND MYTH(S)

Nature as something menacing – a trope often found in English Canadian poetry – was first brought to our attention by Northrop Frye, and it is not surprising that Frye wanted to define its use in the Canadian imagery using Pratt's poetry. Margaret Atwood also used both Pratt's poetry and Frye's criticism as a starting point to define her version of what may be defined as a Canadian cultural myth.³ In her most famous essay *Survival* she describes the natural environment as that which constantly endangers Canadian literary characters, testing their endurance, and ultimately turning them into victims. Atwood's understanding of nature is in great part indebted to Frye's notion of the so called »garrison mentality.« In the *Conclusion to Literary History of Canada*, Frye observed that the earliest settlers in Canada culturally defined Canadian communities as »small and isolated communities surrounded with a physical or psychological 'frontier,' separated from one another and from their American and British cultural sources [...] yet confronted with a huge, unthinking, menacing, and formidable physical setting« (Frye, 1965, 830). Such communities, adds Frye, are bound to develop a conservative mentality of self-isolation that may provisionally be called a garrison mentality (Frye, 1965, 830).

Both Atwood and Frye agree that in such circumstances nature is confronted as »Nature-as-Enemy.« Frye's reference to frontier, however, evokes yet another notion which is crucial to our comprehension of what is supposed to be a standard Canadian response to nature. In 1893 Frederick Jackson Turner formulated the well known theory describing the so-called American western frontier as »the limit of control,« as »a temporary and arbitrary boundary« which may be transcen-

ded, redefined or eradicated (McGregor, 1993, 283). But while the western frontier in the USA may be comprehended as a limit to personal challenge, Gaile McGregor observes that the so-called Canadian »northern« frontier, on the contrary, »denotes the *limits of endurance*. It is [...] an ineradicable line between the 'self' and the 'other'.« And while the western frontier is a culturally defined interface, the northern frontier is an existential one (McGregor, 1993, 283; see also McGregor, 2003).

The northern frontier and the garrison mentality, while becoming two primary constituents of the Canadian cultural myth, can therefore be presumed to be an imaginative response to an uncontrollable environment. I say *presumed* because I am aware of the anti-essentialist attacks in the literary criticism aimed at Frygian definitions of the Canadian cultural myth. I have shown elsewhere that, contrary to the assertions of his detractors, Frye did not understand these two concepts as a fixed identity (Potocco, 2006). However, it is indicative that these concepts are present both in the literary works and in the criticism of at least three authors – Pratt, Frye and Atwood – that most significantly influenced the self-perceptions of standard Canadian imaginative responses throughout the 1960s, 70s and well into the 1980s. Primarily, Frye's conception was a broader one. »I have long been impressed in Canadian poetry by a tone of deep terror in regard to nature,« he observes in the *Conclusion*, but he adds: »[i]t is not a terror of the dangers or discomforts or even the mysteries of nature, but a terror of the soul at something that these things manifest« (Frye, 1965, 830). Clearly, a terror felt in Canadian poetry is – as Gaile McGregor also suggests – a terror of the unknown, confronted in the otherness of nature, water, the indigenous population, and, by extrapolation, one's own unconscious self, as, for example, in the poetry of Atwood. To define garrison mentality as a typical imaginative response therefore means to define it as a mentality that either domesticates or evades contact with what is outside, since it interprets the Other as an existential threat.

In the context of such imaginative response, water imagery is deployed in two different, but often inter-linked ways. Firstly, in Frye's view, the image of water is bound to the physical peculiarity with which the settlers in Canada were confronted. They entered the territory through the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Saint Lawrence River. And while entering the USA is a matter of crossing the ocean, »to enter Canada is a matter of being silently swallowed by an alien continent« (Frye, 1965, 824). The alien continent induces the terror of being completely

3 Although both terms, cultural and national, are found in criticism of Canadian literature, due to the problematical usage of the term nation with reference to Canada, it seems preferable to speak of a cultural instead of a national myth.

surrounded by the unknown. Water functions as the only possible entrance, but also as an almost impossible exit. This is also why water is used as one of the hostile natural elements, described as part of a wild and uncontrollable »North« – the North being in quotation marks, because it denotes the hostility of the otherness itself – in its diverse, albeit predominantly natural forms (Deahl, Barker, 1983, 33–34). In describing Pratt's poems and, specifically, his *Titanic*, Atwood defines the relationship of man towards nature in terms of war and challenge: »The Titanic itself – as its name implies – is a giant created by man as a challenge to Nature« (Atwood, 1996, 58). Both the iceberg and the ocean are claws, a weapon of the nature-monster and by drowning the passengers, Pratt shows that man is victimized by the sea. It is again indicative to read Atwood's comment that in Canadian literature, drowning and freezing are the two favorite methods for dispatching victims: »drowning being preferred by poets – probably because it can be used as a metaphor for a descent into the unconscious« (Atwood, 1996, 55).

Atwood's use of water imagery in her own poetry shows that her comment might as well be taken as a description of her own poetics. But one is also tempted to read her comment as a description of a variety of Canadian poems, beginning with the so-called Confederation poets.³ No later than with their rise in the 1880s, the imagery presenting water as part of an isolating and inhospitable nature had become a common topos in Canadian literature, most significantly in the works of Archibald Lampman, a poet that has been, surprisingly, in great part neglected by both Atwood and Frye.

Lampman's poetry is often discussed as post-romantic (Ower, 1976; McLeod, 1984), but it presents us with an ambiguity, and some curious paradoxes governing the relation between the lyrical subject and nature – and the ambiguity is reflected in, and sometimes generated by water imagery. Richard Arnold reads Lampman's dichotomies against the grain of Lampman's reception of American transcendentalism. Lampman's wish to imitate the transcendentalist identification with nature and the world is undermined by the typical Canadian imaginative response to nature (Arnold, 1981, 33–56). Motifs and images used in Lampman's poems seemingly imply a total identification with natural elements, but in his poems one can speak – similarly as in Flaubert's narration – of the surface (dessus) and the

depth (dessous). While identification is implied at the surface level, images in the dessous, with their affective agency, reveal an opposite stance towards nature. One of the best examples to deploy water imagery is no doubt Lampman's *Morning on the Lièvres*. It begins with an image of a quiet, misty – and mystical – surroundings, as well as of the river:

Softly as a cloud we ago,
Sky above and sky below,
Down the river {...} And the river reaches borne
In a mirror, purple gray,
Sheer away To the misty line of light,
Where the forest and the stream
In the shadow meet and plight,
Like a dream.

(Lampman, 1888, 21, v. 10–25)⁴

Despite the dream-like description, the mirror image is, contrary to our expectations, described as »gray«, and further on in the text, the river is given an aggressive connotation. It is seen as a predator feeding on its prey. I quote Lampman: »the lazy river sucks / All the water as it bleeds / From a little curling creek.« There follows an image of the muskrats sneaking »in around the sunken wrecks / Of a tree« (Lampman, 1888, 21, v. 27–32). Again, the reader is presented with a complex description of the muskrats and there is a suggestion of death lurking in the image of »the sunken wrecks« that can be read literally, but also as a metaphor for the ruined and deserted ship. Taken together, all these images produce a strong ambivalence, culminating in the final image of the poem, that of a sudden apparition and just as sudden the disappearance of a few river ducks.

Lampman uses a similar strategy in his winter-poems, only instead of water, the menacing elements are ice and, predominantly, snow: and the images are more openly aggressive and violent, as if confrontation with the existential threat would be more difficult to conceal when it came to the element, more domestic to the surroundings of the »malevolent north«.⁵ Let us consider two examples. While the poem *Snow* bears much resemblance to a similar poem *In November* – in that both are structured as a juxtaposition of a dream and the description of cold, snow-laden, and inhospitable surroundings – in *Snow*, Lampman's dream-vision is, once

3 This has become a standard literary denomination of the group that includes C. G. D. Roberts, D. C. Scott, Archibald Lampman, B. Carman, G. R. Cameron, and I. V. Crawford, because they were born in the 1860s, in the decade when the first Canadian political entity was formed.

4 See Lampman (2009) for the text in the hypertext critical edition.

5 I have borrowed the term »malevolent north« from the title of one of Atwood's books of essays.

again and predictably, undermined by negative connotations of nature.⁶ Three snow-related semantic fields prevail in the poem's imagery: silence, haziness and blurring, and heaviness. The dominant field of silence is captured by images of snow falling »scarce audibly«, by the meadows lying »still without a sound«, by identifying wood, water, earth, and air with silence, and eventually, by »the sleeping noises« of the world. The blurring of boundaries is evoked in the fading forests, in the smoothing road, the blotted hills, and in the dim sky. And, finally, heaviness is suggested by the dense snow, weighing down on the roofs and tree-tops, and in the dwindling fences. All these images imply an isolated and rather unfriendly environment, although on the surface a faint effort to identify with it is still attempted. Such efforts to identify with the environment are, however, more difficult to trace in Lampman's later poetry. In the unpublished *Winter Solitude* there are no more attempts at any identification with nature. Snow condemns the world to be »deathly silent« – leaving the lyrical subject in the scenery »utterly alone« – while the snow itself is designated in the central image of the poem as follows: »And the hard snow ran in little ripples and peaks, / Like the fretted floor of a white and petrified sea« (Lampman, 2009a, v. 7–8).

Like the iceberg in Pratt's *The Titanic*, snow and ice can be understood as water in its frozen state, and it is clear that they are both shown as elements in which the original fluid state of water has become static, rigid, and determinate. One can detect an identical »petrification« in Pratt's previously quoted identification of iceberg with »granite.« Margaret Atwood noted that the iceberg in Pratt's *Titanic* »is not alive [...] it is a 'thing' with the blind, uncaring motions and attributes of a thing,« and as such it embodies the three elements of nature: ice, ocean and rock (Atwood, 1996, 59).

WATER, MYTH(S), AND IMAGERY

In the petrification of ice, water loses one of its essential characteristics, that of fluidity and vitality. In their *Dictionary of Symbols* Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant handily categorize the symbolic value of water into three interconnected categories: water as a source of life, water as a cathartic element, and water as a center of rebirth and/or renovation (Chevalier, 2006,

662). These all imply a dynamic quality. Mircea Eliade has also shown that the symbolism of water is associated with fecundity, in close connection to the symbolism of Woman and of the Moon, especially through images of shells (Eliade, 1991a, 125–28). The woman and the phases of the moon are also associated with Earth, as well as uterus (Eliade, 1996, 36), and it is not by chance that in Greek mythology the »rational« Gods of the Olympus supersede the older gods, both the subterranean and water ones (Vrečko, 1994, 56, 109). This cyclic function of water – present also in the semitic traditions (Eliade, 1959, 63) – is naturally loaded with a dynamism of birth and rebirth. A more complicated dynamism, however, is to be found in cosmogonic myths, in which water represents primordial and indistinct chaos, but it is usually through an external element that it receives its dynamic faculty. In many versions of Hindu mythology, water and fire – Agnī – both take part in the act of creation (e.g. RV, X, 129, 12),⁷ while Agni is also said to be the embryo of waters (Eliade, 1996, 139; Veljačić, 1992, 32). In Genesis, the spirit of God is moving over the waters at the moment of creation (Gn 1,1–2); but, on the other hand, there is an ambiguity implied in the celebration of the Jewish New Year festival, as the celebrated Yahve's slaying of the monster Rahaab and his victory over the waters are obviously equivalent to the creation of the world (Eliade, 1959, 60). In a similar way, the image of water is ambiguous in the Sumerian *Enuma eliš*. Only after the sky god Nudimuda usurps the post of water from the god Apsu, does water become dynamic leaving Apsu, according to Eliade, to speak in a nostalgic language of »matter« yearning for its primordial immobility (Eliade, 1996, 54).

In the duality of dynamism and immobility, Canadian appropriations of water obviously reduce its imagery to the side of stability, and at the same time, to a negative, threatening side. Obviously, this is not a process that occurs only in regards to ice and snow, but also in regards to water itself. Let us, thus, finally attempt to analyze some of the water imagery in Margaret Atwood's poetry and fiction, since it has become clear that in her essays Atwood tries to define man's relation to nature, following the Frygian myth of the »malevolent north.«

6 See Lampman (1895, 40, 45) for the text of both poems; and Lampman (2009) for the text in the hypertext edition.

7 I am referring to the hymn Nasadija sukta, as translated in the Slovenian anthology of Vedic hymns. For some interesting representations of Agnī and water see also Gangal, 1998.

This is how Atwood begins her novel *Oryx and Crake* (2003):

Snowman wakes before dawn. He lies unmoving, listening to the tide coming in, wave after wave sloshing over the various barricades, wish-wash, wish-wash, the rhythm of heartbeat. He would so like to believe he is still asleep.

On the eastern horizon there's a *greyish haze*, lit now with a *rosy, deadly glow*. Strange how that colour still seems tender. The *offshore towers stand out in dark silhouette against it*, rising improbably out of the *pink and pale blue* of the lagoon. The shrieks of the birds that nest out there and the distant ocean grinding against the *ersatz reefs of rusted car parts and jumbled bricks and assorted rubble* sound almost like holiday traffic.

Out of habit he looks at his watch – stainless-steel case, burnished aluminum band, still shiny although it no longer works. He wears it now as his only talisman. A blank face is what it shows him: *zero hour*. *It causes a jolt of terror to run through him, this absence of official time. Nobody, nowhere knows what time it is.*

(Atwood, 2003, 3; emphasis M. Potocco)

Snowman, the focalizer, is seemingly the only surviving member of the »old« human race. He is stranded in a tree on the shore of a new world that was created during a self-destructive genetic engineering project by his close friend Crake. Although – as we are told later – Crake's newly-bred race divinizes their now dead creator, rather than presenting us with a variant of a cosmogonic myth, the opening passage must be read as an allusion to a deluge myth. In fact, both myths may be understood in close connection with each other, as deluge myths connote a (re)birth of an exhausted or of sinful world, whereas the flood clearly enables new creation (Eliade, 1996, 50). Eliade demonstrates that the water imagery in the celebration of the Babylonian and the Jewish New Year shows a mixing of symbols of creation and of the deluge imagery (Eliade, 1959, 57–60). Furthermore, most ancient myths of deluge, according to him, disclose a cyclical lunar structure and origin (Eliade, 1991, 72), especially given that a new, regenerated humanity is born from the so-called lunar animal or from a mythic ancestor who generally takes on the aspects of a lunar animal (ibid.). Hence, water, along with its cathartic function, also takes on the symbolic aspects of a life-source.

In *Oryx and Crake*, mixing of deluge and cosmogonic imagery is clearly present, especially in the representation of chaos. In a typical cosmogonic story narrated by Snowman to the new race, Atwood describes water as dirty and indistinct chaos, out of which – in a cosmogonic act – the »Great Emptiness« would be created (Atwood, 2003, 102–104). The image is in line with the creation and deluge myths in which water is most commonly represented as primordial chaos, while overcoming of water is equivalent to overcoming of the monsters and water deities, such as Rahaab and Tiamat. However, in another typical passage in the novel, chaos is described as that which has remained after the apocalyptic deluge: »The trees surrounding the dome were lush and green, everything seemed pristine, but when they reached the RejoovenEsense Compound proper, the evidence of destruction and death lay all around. Overturned golf carts, sodden, illegible printouts, computers with their guts ripped out. Rubble, fluttering cloth, gnawed carrion. Broken toys. The vultures were still at their business. 'Please, oh Snowman, what is that?' ... 'It's part of the chaos,' said Snowman« (Atwood, 2003, 351–52). In this passage, chaos obviously isn't represented as a regenerative principle of (re)creation, but a consequence of devastation.

Atwood's novel, therefore, presents a modification of the deluge imagery, and this is made clear in the very opening passage of the novel. Firstly, the water scarcely gets a mention there; instead of the real flood we are presented only by the impression that Snowman is a survivor of the deluge. Secondly, the images of water and of the environment are predominantly discomfiting: the horizon has a »grayish haze,« with a »deadly« glow, the dark towers stand out in sharp contrast to the »pale« blue lagoon. The images conjure up an atmosphere of infertility, death and sterility. Infertility, in relation to the human race, is amplified by yet another modification. Eliade observes that in standard deluge myths the disappearance of humanity »is never total, for a new humanity is born from a pair of survivors« (Eliade, 1959, 87) – while Snowman is stranded alone and his potential mate Oryx was killed by Crake prior to his own death. Atwood thus changes the standard model, depriving it of the female principle. The survival obviously has to be questioned, since the post-deluge imagery is shorn of the symbolism of uterus and that of a woman associated with fecundity. In *Oryx and Crake*, both are present only *per negationem*, as a past presence.

This reduction of the model is significant in itself. In *Oryx and Crake*, the image of surviving the apocalypse is entirely a pessimistic one. Instead of gesturing towards a new life, the survival of the last human becomes a symbol of near-death,⁸ at least in regards to the »old«

8 At the end of the novel, with Snowman's injured foot, and with his running into three other humans, several scenarios are possible. It is not certain whether Snowman will die, or how many humans have survived, and whether they would eradicate the new race, etc.

human race. Snowman is an alienated survivor surrounded and passively victimized (see Ingersoll, 2004), if not actively threatened by the new race surrounding him. He is respected only as a prophet of a non-existing deity (Atwood, 2003, 104).

It is impossible to discuss here to what extent the use of deluge imagery with its attendant pessimism in *Oryx and Crake* is influenced by the use of genre, given that the novel has been suitably described as post-apocalyptic science fiction (e.g. Ingersoll, 2004).⁹ But it is clear that Atwood's use of deluge imagery is not coincidental. Her earlier work is full of water imagery, with water predominantly taking on the cathartic function, and there are at least some poems by Atwood that also draw on flood imagery. In *After the Flood, We*, the deluge is clearly observable, and the whole poem resembles the opening passage of *Oryx and Crake*, although with images that are in many ways more explicit, as in the following evocation of a desolate city:

*We must be the only ones
left, in the mist that has risen
everywhere as well
as in these woods*

*I walk across the bridge
towards the safety of high grounds {...}*

*gathering the sunken
bones of the drowned mothers
{...} while the white mist washes
around my legs like water;*

*fish must be swimming,
down in the forest beneath us {...}
and a mile away
the city, wide and silent,
is lying lost, far undersea.*

*You saunter beside me {...}
not even knowing
that there has been a flood {...}*

*not hearing the first stumbling
footsteps of the almost-born
coming (slowly) behind us
not seeing
the almost-human
brutal faces forming {...}
out of stone.*

(Atwood, 1966, 4–5, italics by M. Potocco)

Contrary to »dark silhouettes« in *Oryx and Crake*, the city here is explicitly submerged and its silence implies the devastating agency of water. Both images, however, depict the desolation and devastation of the world which must be read in close connection to the relation of both narrators to the Other, and to otherness, as we shall see. Likewise, the flood itself is more explicitly shown, since it is already suggested in the title. A standard surviving human pair is presented right at the beginning; however, the representation is all but univocal, since we can as well read the flood as a metaphorical one. The narrator's addressee isn't aware of water, while the narrator concentrates on the mists that wash around the legs *like* water, but, essentially, they are not water. The flood itself is represented in a predominantly static way. Compared to *Oryx and Crake*, a possibly chaotic destruction of everything old and exhausted is shown in an image that is more aggressive and hostile, since it shows the remains of human life (the bones of drowned mothers), and it openly alludes to death by drowning, while in *Oryx and Crake* the focalizer concentrates on the remains of never living objects – things. But the predominant impression is again that of sterility; once more the devastating agency of flood is implied, not by active chaos, but by observing the consequences of devastation: the bones, the stones, and the city.

In *Oryx and Crake*, silence is relative, compared to the once clamorous cities; devastation of the city is implied by its darkness, and the relative silence is filled only with sounds of nature, and later with sounds of a new race approaching. In the poem, on the other hand, out of the silence that dominates the submerged city and out of the woods arise the footsteps of something »almost-born« and »almost-human«. The representations in the novel and in the poem both denote something that is human, yet not totally human; they both denote something created or born, but not yet totally living; and finally, they both imply something that is Other than the narrator's Self – nature, the new race: the unknown.

Atwood commonly depicts the otherness of the unknown in a fashion, similar to the one used in the poem *After the Flood*, that is, as a thing in the process of changing form, as something »brutal« that has been, or is yet to become domesticated, while at the same time often evading domestication. While in *Oryx and Crake*, accommodation of the otherness is related to developing the ability of symbolic representation by the new race (in their ability with regards to myth-telling; see Atwood, 2003, 360–61), and while symbolic representation in the novel is not associated with water imagery, the connection between water imagery and symbolic representation is, in fact, very often hinted at in Atwood's work.

9 *Oryx and Crake* begins, as have countless SF novels and stories, observes Ingersoll, »by dropping readers into a vaguely familiar yet overwhelmingly hostile and alien world in which a viewpoint character is struggling to survive.«

In her poem *Notes from Various Pasts*, the lyrical narrator is found:

{c}apsed somewhere and stranded
here, in a bluegrey rocking-chair
{...} looking at
what has been caught in the net
this morning: messages
from a harsher level

(Atwood, 1968, 10–11)

The surface beneath the narrator is, again, compared to the sea, and again the image of water is a rather static one:

I rock on the bluegrey
day, while below me
the creatures of the most profound
ocean chasms are swimming
far under even the memory
of sun and tidal moon

(Atwood, 1968, 10–11)

It is hard not to be reminded here of Pratt's *Silences*. But even in Pratt's *Silences*, the image of the ocean creatures is not that of primordial chaos, but that of a Darwinian hierarchy in a struggle for survival. This is not surprising given that Pratt has often used Darwinian imagery (Djwa, 1975, 49–51; 1977, 62–63, 65 etc.); nevertheless, compared to the one in Atwood's poem, it is still a moderately dynamic image. Atwood uses imagery that implies chaos, but her focus is a focus on the surface, therefore, her lyrical narrator focuses on the land above the chaos – and the surface remains static and unmoving. In the final analysis, what overcomes chaos in Atwood's work – as Yahve had overcome the monster Raahab in the Jewish creation myths – is the ability of symbolic representation, the ability strongly associated with the faculty of reason.

In this respect, Atwood's novel *Surfacing* – with the aborted baby, and the water imagery as a symbol of protagonist's unconscious Other – is probably most instructive. But metaphors of water as the unconscious which denote a multiplicity of linguistic significations are equally pervasive in her early poems. In the poem *This is a Photograph of Me*, the following image is given of one's self:

At first it seems to be
a smeared
print: blurred lines and grey flecks
blended with the paper {...}

(The photograph was taken
the day after I drowned.

I am in the lake, in the center
of the picture, just under the surface.

It is difficult to say where
precisely, or to say
how large or small I am:
the effect of water
on light is a distortion

but if you look long enough,
eventually
you will be able to see me.)

(Atwood, 1966, 3)

The split of the lyrical subject into a narrating self and a perceived object suggests the estrangement of the narrator's self from the Other drowned in the lake. At the same time the Other is difficult to locate precisely because it is submerged, and, therefore, suppressed. Atwood's concentration onto the act of perception likewise suggests a divergence in the habituated view, and through it, the otherness of narrator's habituated self. And although the image has been understood as a metaphor of the Heraclitic absence of a fixed identity (Munro, 1970, 148) – in line with a common interpretation of Atwood's poetics (Marshall, 1978, 89–98, 154–161; Davey, 1974, 30–33) – water is again presented as a relatively static surface. Nothing in the narration suggests any movement beneath or on the surface. Rather, the narration should be read as a phenomenological description which emphasizes the boundary between the perceiving narrator and the perceived Other. The view of the perceiver is first halted by the blurred physicality of the photograph paper, and then – while *inside* the picture – by the surfacing water that creates a distortion of light, causing a second smudging. The eye of the perceiving self, therefore, stops at this double-layered surface, which, though truly acquiring some depth (Munro, 1970, 148), in the depth itself, remains motionless.

In *Notes From Various Pasts*, the situation is quite the opposite. The depths are shown as dynamic, while the surface is represented as ambiguously static, primarily through the image of a rocking-chair, provoking the lyrical narrator to question her own condition:

*Have I lost
an electric wisdom
in the thin marooning air?*

(Atwood, 1968, 10–11)

The surface is not static altogether, since the comparison of a rocking chair to the day suggests motion. However, the static nature of the day is emphasized by the condition of the narrator: stranded, sitting, memorizing only. Instead of motion, the rocking chair brings to mind oldness and inactivity. This is underscored by contrasting the surface to the ocean depths. The electric wisdom Atwood refers to is associated with the primordality of fish, but this Pratt-reminding image gains a fairly different meaning. »Creatures in the ocean chasms« are also:

sheathed in an armoured skin
that is a language; camouflage
of cold lights
{...} words {that} lie washed ashore
on the margins, mangled
by the journey upwards to the bluegrey
surface

(Atwood, 1968, 10–11)

The poem ends by denoting them as:

these once-living
and phosphorescent meanings
fading in my hands

I try to but can't decipher.

(Atwood, 1968, 10–11)

Water imagery is thus intertwined with language imagery, and the multiplicity of water creatures becomes a multiplicity of linguistic significations. By using a Pratt-like image of fish, significations are shown in a constant struggle to overpower one another while at the same time, in the constant flux of emerging. Since language itself is a creation of symbolic ties, and a symbolic representation of the primordial, as well as unrestrained flux of images (see e.g. Castoriadis, 1997), the fish – the once phosphorescent meanings in Atwood's poem represent exactly this unrestrained flux of images, the imaginary itself. In a specific way, Atwood shows unconscious imaginary significations coming to the surface – but, in the process of transition becoming something that cannot be deciphered. This motion is of the utmost importance. The meanings in the process of reaching the surface have lost their living attributes – they fade in the hands; they have lost the original dynamics of their subconscious, sub-rational, and not-yet-symbolic life. Hence, both the narrator and the words become static (and domesticated) once reaching the surface. By getting lungs, the narrator loses her electric wisdom, and by lying ashore, the words lose their quality of being unlimited.

It is significant to note that where representations of water have moved from being static to being dynamic, they have also moved to direct suggestions of hostility in descriptions of the ocean creatures. In some instances they have also passed to imagery almost identical to Pratt's vision of the sea. An even clearer example may be found in *A Descent Through the Carpet* where the path of the lyrical narrator is presented inversely as a submersion into the water. The ocean depths are described in an ambiguous dynamic fashion, but as directly hostile:

{...} in the waste ocean
{...} only the cold jeweled symmetries
of the voracious eater
the voracious eaten

the dream creatures that glow
sulphurous in darkness or
flash like neurons
are blind, insatiable

(Atwood, 1966, 22)

This is a crucial point to emphasize. It shows that Atwood's images, despite their more robust ambiguity, still remain in line with what she was describing in the *Survival* as standard Canadian imagery. In her critical essays, Atwood has taken up Frye's suggestions on the question of the Canadian cultural myth, and directly or indirectly, also some of the imagery found in E.J. Pratt's poetry. In her novelistic and poetic works, Atwood is preoccupied with the same ideas. Her usage of static and/or hostile images of water, in a variety of contexts, especially in the context of linguistic and psychoanalytic imagery, is a case in point.

CONCLUSION

By interpreting water imagery I have attempted to demonstrate that in English Canadian Literature Atwood's work is not an exception in that many authors use images of water, combining them with the idea of static and hostile nature, and the idea of otherness. These ideas feature particularly in Pratt's and Lampman's poetry. While Pratt usually represents water and its inhabitants both as an openly destructive and as a dynamic force, the ostensive image of iceberg in *The Titanic* also shows the devastating agency of water when changed into its »petrified« form. In Lampman's poetry, on the other hand, the brutality of nature is less openly hinted at, and the dynamic quality of water is principally ignored, especially in the representations of water's frozen formations.

In Margaret Atwood's work both types of images are used in a most complex fashion. In *Oryx and Crake* the

deluge imagery is deprived of its link to regenerative principle of cosmogonic myths, and the infertility of the post-apocalyptic world is underscored with non-fluid images of the ocean. Despite the fact that Pratt-like dynamic and openly aggressive images of water creatures can be discerned in Atwood's earlier poetry, serving as a metaphor of the primordial flux of imaginary significations, Atwood's narrators are generally focused on the static surface where the linguistic meanings – following the process of transition – have lost their living attributes.

Though the nature of water as static and hostile may lend itself to interpretations derived from Frygian definitions of the Canadian cultural myth, these definitions must be taken with caution. In Canadian literary criticism of the last few decades, a »thematic« search of standard imagery and topoi has persistently

been devalued (e.g. Cameron, 1990), and a re-evaluation of the so-called thematic criticism has only become possible in recent years (Brown, 2005). I agree with the critique of thematic criticism in that cultural myths cannot be understood as a fixed identity, as well as that representations can never be reduced to only one myth or one signification. Nevertheless, the analysis of water imagery enables us to speak of »northernness« and of »otherness« as at least one of the standard topoi, observable in a significant part of major Canadian authors. Regardless of the problematic denotations of the Canadian cultural myth, the analysis undertaken here has shown that we may discern a clear line which enabled Frye to speak of similar imagery deployed by Pratt, and to some degree also by Lampman, Atwood and several other Canadian authors.

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POVZETEK

Članek ob primerih iz poezije Edwina Johna Pratta in Archibalda Lampmana ter ob prozi in poeziji Margaret Atwood obravnava rabo podoba, povezanega z vodo, v kanadski literaturi. V Prattovi poeziji naletimo na dvoumno uporabo vodnega podoba, toda zlasti v njegovi zgodnejši poeziji so podobe vode preteče in neprijazne, kar še posebej velja za eno izmed njegovih najznamenitejših pesnitev The Titanic. Zelo verjetno je, da sta se pri Prattovih upodobitvah vode in narave navdihovala tako Northrop Frye kot Margaret Atwood v svojih opredelitvah kanadskega nacionalnega oziroma kulturnega mita, vendar je njuno opredeljevanje standardnega kanadskega imaginarija potrebno obravnavati tudi v luči problematičnega odnosa literarnih junakov, pripovedovalcev ali lirskih govorcev do tujosti drugega. Tujost in ogroženost posameznika je mogoče zaznati zlasti v reprezentacijah narave, in sicer najkasneje v delih t. i. konfederacijskih pesnikov, še posebej značilno v poeziji Lampmana. Pod vplivom ameriških transcendentalistov njegove pesmi na površini skušajo doseči zlitje z naravo, toda analiza vodilnih semantičnih polj pokaže, da v odnosu do vode in še posebej v odnosu do snega prevladajo negativne konotacije. Podobno kot led v Prattovem Titaniku, lahko sneg tolmačimo kot vodo v drugem elementarnem stanju, kar potrjuje tudi dikcija samega Lampmana, ki sneg označi za »okamenelo morje«. Tovrstna okamenelost zaznamuje izgubo dinamike in preorojevalne moči vode, izguba dinamike pa je skupaj z njeno razdiralno, ogrožujočo močjo tipična značilnost kanadskega literarnega upodabljanja vode. Oboje je prisotno tudi v romanu Atwoodove Oryx and Crake (Zadnji človek), ki ga avtorica podlaga z mitom vesoljnega potopa, a ga tako na fabulativni ravni kot z uporabljenim podobjem reducira tako, da več ne nakazuje očiščenja in prerojevanja sveta, s tem pa je novi svet prikazan kot sovražen in statičen. Sterilne, sovražne in statične podobe vode so, nenazadnje, prisotne tudi v poeziji Atwoodove, vendar so v njej tesno povezane z vprašanji jezika, simbolne reprezentacije in imaginarnega.

Ključne besede: angleška kanadska poezija, voda, nacionalni mit, jezik, imaginarno, Northrop Frye

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PANTA REI – ON AQUATIC AND MARINE CONCEPTS AND WORDS IN ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

The paper is an attempt to demonstrate that in the languages of nations and cultures living on the shores of seas or oceans, the conceptual structure associated with the sea constitutes a particularly productive semantic template (semplate) and the concepts and words associated with water and the sea provide a large number of source concepts determining the lexical and conceptual structure of the languages of those nations and cultures. The above hypothesis is verified by examining the semantic structure of the basic lexical items belonging to the conceptual domains of WATER, SEA and SAILING, which jointly constitute the SEA semplate in modern English, and the most common metaphors in which water, the sea and sailing provide the source domains. The lexical items considered are five nouns: water, sea, wave, boat and ship, and two verbs: to flow, to sail, as well as a number of »marine« idioms.

Key words: culture, lexical semantics, marine concepts, metaphor, semplate, sense generators

PANTA REI – DEL SENSO DELLE PAROLE RELATIVE ALL'ACQUA E AL MARE NELLA LINGUA INGLESE

SINTESI

Nell'articolo si tenta di dimostrare che nel linguaggio dei popoli e delle culture che vivono sulle rive dei mari e degli oceani, la struttura concettuale associata al mare costituisce una fonte particolarmente produttiva di calchi semantici. I concetti e le parole legati al mare offrono un gran numero di generatori di significato che determinano la struttura concettuale e il lessico di questi stessi popoli e culture. La suddetta ipotesi è confermata dall'analisi della struttura semantica del lessico fondamentale degli elementi che riguardano l'ambito di WATER, SEA e SAILING (ingl. acqua, mare, navigare). Nell'inglese moderno formando insieme il calco semantico SEA (ingl. mare) e rappresentano le metafore più comuni di cui l'acqua, il mare e la navigazione sono la fonte originale. Sono state analizzate numerose categorie lessicali per cinque sostantivi: water, sea, wave, boat e ship (ingl. acqua, mare, onda, barca e nave) e due verbi: to flow e to sail (ingl. fluire e navigare), come pure numerosi termini »marini«.

Parole chiave: cultura, semantica lessicale, concetti legati al mare, metafora, calco semantico, generatori di significato

Jesus was a sailor when he walked upon the water
 And he spent a long time watching
 From his lonely wooden tower
 And when he knew for certain
 Only drowning men could see him
 He said »All men will be sailors then
 Until the sea shall free them«

(Leonard Cohen, *Suzanne*)

CONCEPTUAL IMAGE SCHEMAS AS SOURCE DOMAINS

In their influential cognitive theory of metaphor Lakoff & Johnson defined metaphor informally in the following way:

»The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another« (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, 5). Although the definition sounds rather simple, it had far reaching consequences. For one thing, it opened the door for the theory of conceptual metaphor, i.e. the theory which claims that metaphor is not a matter of language, but a matter of thought, or – as it was formulated later (e.g. by Lakoff, 1990; 1993; Croft, 1993; Barcelona, 2003) – a matter of mapping between two distinct conceptual domains, the donor domain called »source domain« and the domain which is the actual object and content of the metaphor, called »target domain«. Thus a single conceptual metaphor may be realized by a number of different linguistic metaphors, all based on the same cross-domain mapping, e.g. the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY may give rise to a number of metaphorical linguistic expressions based on the correspondence between travelers and lovers: *Look how far we've come, We are at a crossroads, We'll just have to go our separate ways, We're stuck, We're just spinning our wheels, Our marriage is on the rocks, We've gotten off track*, etc. (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, 44f; see also Kövecses, 1986, 1988; Bierwiazzonek, 2002, Ch. 4). Another important corollary of the theory of metaphor proposed by Lakoff and Johnson was that it showed how more physical and perceptually clear and thus better experientially grounded concepts are used to provide ontology and structure for more abstract concepts, such as TIME, LOVE, MORALITY, HAPPINESS, MIND, GOD etc. This in turn raised the question of the most basic domains and concepts of human cognition, which provide source domains for more abstract domains. The first attempts to answer that question were Lakoff (1987) and, particularly, Johnson (1987), where it was suggested that the basic human concepts originate in our bodily experiences and are probably universal. Since these concepts were claimed to be appear before the formation of other,

richer concepts and were believed to be imagistic and schematic, Johnson (1987) called them »preconceptual image schemata« and defined the preconceptual image schema as: *a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience* (Johnson, 1987, xiv).

The two important aspects of image schemata are their »apparently nonpropositional, analog nature« and »their figurative character, as structures of embodied imagination« (Johnson, 1987, xx). In addition, Johnson pointed out that the image schema can also be defined as »a continuous structure of an organizing activity« (Johnson, 1987, 29) – the definition that highlights the dynamic nature of image schemas as patterns of mental organization of experience. As for their internal structure, image schemas are Gestalts: »coherent, meaningful, unified wholes within our experience and cognition« (1987, 41). The most important image schemas seem to be: CONTAINER, BLOCKAGE, PATH, PART-WHOLE, LINK, BALANCE, LINK, NEAR-FAR, CYCLE, CENTER-PERIPHERY, etc. In addition, Cienki (1998) and Bierwiazzonek (2004) have suggested that there are also universal »geometric« image schemas: STRAIGHT and CIRCLE.

The tendency to look for conceptual universals in the common human bodily experience should not, however, divert our attention from the fact that there are concepts which are culture-specific, since it is these concepts that may also play a role in the way the world is encoded linguistically, for they provide important source domains for the metaphorical structures of the languages spoken in those cultures.¹ These concepts may appear as deeply entrenched cognitive routines either as a result of their ubiquity and hence frequent usage in a given culture or else some of their lexical exponents acquire a special status in the lexical structure of a language and thus they become what I have called »sense-generators« (cf. Bierwiazzonek, 2007). The concepts in question may have to do with the most salient features of the geographical environment, climate and meteorology, as well as the local flora and fauna, but others may well denote culturally important artifacts, such as paper, cup, etc.

Another term which has been recently suggested by Levinson and Burenhult (2009) in order to account for the systematic way in which the vocabulary of various languages is structured and interrelated is the term »semplate«, a blend of *semantic* and *template*. Crucially, a semplate has a rich semantic content, consisting of sets and layers of lexemes and a lexical role in organizing the lexical structure of a language across categorial boundaries.

1 The term *culture* is used here in its most neutral, theory-independent sense as »the customs, beliefs, arts, music and all the other products of human thought made by a particular group of people at a particular time« (Longman, 1992).

We shall discuss the notions of sense generators and templates in slightly greater detail in the two sections below. In Section 4 we shall try to show that they are directly relevant to the main thesis of this paper, i.e. that for the languages of nations and cultures living on shores of seas or oceans the concepts associated with water, particularly the sea, provide a large number of the most important source concepts determining the lexical structure of those languages, as well as the conceptual and cultural specificity of the nations speaking those languages.

SENSE-GENERATORS

In my recent paper (Bierwiazzonek, 2007), I proposed that each language has its own set of sense-generators (s-generators), defined as those lexical items in a language which exhibit particularly rich polysemy. The presence of s-generators is particularly striking when we compare the semantic structure of different lexemes in two languages: some words in L1 have a large number of senses while their equivalents in L2 only a few, or vice versa. Moreover, s-generators in L1 may not correspond in their prototypical senses to s-generators in L2, therefore, their extended, non-prototypical senses may differ considerably. As particularly well-established, usually high-frequency items, s-generators are cognitively particularly well-established, deeply entrenched lexical items, which are likely to be used more often than other items in categorizing new cognitive entities/conceptualizations.

Following my analysis presented in Bierwiazzonek (2007), we may distinguish four kinds of s-generators:

- 1) s-generators based on elaboration (e-generators);
- 2) s-generators based on feature modification (fm-generators);
- 3) s-generators based on metonymy (my-generators);
- 4) s-generators based on metaphor (m-generators)

Elaboration generators

E-generators are words which have a rather abstract, schematic central meaning² and a number of other senses which are elaborations of this abstract central sense. A good example of an e-generator in Polish is the word *plyta*, whose central meaning seems to be »flat piece of solid material« and whose elaborations involve various often quite distinct categories, as can be seen in Table 1 below.

A good example of the e-generator in English is the word *device* with its general meaning »an object which has been invented for some purpose« and numerous more specific senses differing from each other in terms of purpose and details of construction. Another e-generator is the word *handle*, discussed by Cruse (1986, 74), who points out that it can be used to designate such special subcategories as handle of a door, suitcase, umbrella, sword, spoon. Again, in Polish one needs at least three different items for various subcategories of handle, e.g. the handle of a door is *klamka*, the handle of a suitcase is *rączka*, the handle of an umbrella and spoon is *uchwyt*, and the handle of a sword is *rękojeść* (in addition to *pałak*, *trzonek* and *uszko* relating to other objects). Almost as a matter of definition, most basic-level words are e-generators, e.g. *chair*, *dog*, *bird*, *book*, etc.

Table 1:

Tabela 1:

Polish e-generator	Senses	English equivalents
<i>Płyta</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. flat piece of metal 2. flat piece of plastic or glass 3. flat piece of wood 4. flat piece of stone 5. piece of paving 6. flat piece of plaster on walls 7. part of cooker 8. record of music 9. round disc for storing digital information 10. part of football, etc. pitch 11. part of airfield 12. memorial 13. top part of tomb 14. main part of computer 	<i>sheet</i> <i>plate</i> <i>board</i> <i>slab</i> <i>flagstone</i> <i>panel</i> <i>plate</i> <i>record, album</i> <i>(compact) disc</i> <i>surface</i> <i>apron</i> <i>plaque</i> <i>(tomb)stone</i> <i>(mother) board</i>

² I call it »central« because prototypes usually have rather rich representations (cf. Rosch, 1978).

Feature modification generators

Fm-generators form their polysemous semantic structure by means of what Langacker (1990, 266) calls »extension«, which »implies some conflict in specification between the basic and extended value«. The specification in question is called »feature« here; thus, the polysemy of fm-generators is based on feature modification. In Langacker's example of the word *run*, feature modification may involve the number of legs of the running people and animals, or the way the runner uses her legs on the downhill run on skis.

Another interesting fm-generator in English is the word *house*. Its prototypical meaning of »a building in which people live, usually people belonging to one family« is extended to such concepts as BOARDING HOUSE, OPERA HOUSE, COUNCIL HOUSE, STEAK HOUSE, CHAPTER HOUSE, WENDY HOUSE, DOLL'S HOUSE, etc.³

It will be noticed that feature modification cannot be equated with the traditional notion of semantic broadening or generalization: the feature is not lost but modified e.g. simplifying the contrast a little, a steak house is still a house for people but the feature (or, in more cognitive terms the domain) of LIVING is modified to SERVING CARNIVOROUS FOOD, while FAMILY is modified to CUSTOMERS.

What is also important about e-generators and fm-generators is that they do not involve transfer of meaning, which is characteristic of the other two kinds of generators: metonymy-generators and metaphor-generators, discussed in greater detail in the next sections.

Metonymy generators

A metonymy generator (my-generator) is a lexeme whose rich polysemous semantic structure is a result of

metonymic extensions. Since my-generators differ from language to language, a single my-generator in L1 may have a number of different equivalents in L2. A good example of the my-generator in English is the lexeme *paper*. As in the other tables, the column on the right shows the words in Polish needed to translate various senses of the my-generator in question (Table 2).

Clearly, all senses (2) through (9) have developed through different metonymic extensions from the prototypical sense 1, but two lines of extension following two basic metonymic patterns can easily be discerned: one is MATERIAL FOR OBJECTS MADE OF THIS MATERIAL (senses 7 and 8) and the other is MATERIAL FOR TEXTS WRITTEN ON THIS MATERIAL (cf. also *papyrus*). Predictably, in the remaining senses the two extensions occur jointly, displaying a systematic ambiguity between the sense of physical object and the content of the text. The ambiguity is by no means confined to written texts. A similar case can be made for *canvas*, which apart from its basic material sense, has developed two metonymic senses: one for a picture painted (or to-be-painted) on canvas, e.g. *The canvas is in a terrible condition*, and the other designating the content of the picture, e.g. *The canvas shows an easy rider eating a hamburger*.

Metaphor generators

In addition to e-, fm-, and my-generators, each language has a set of words which it tends to employ more often than others as sources for metaphoric extensions. Those language-specific lexical »favourites« most readily available for metaphorization may be called »metaphor generators« (m-generators). Accordingly, an m-generator is a lexeme whose rich polysemous semantic structure is a result of metaphoric extensions, i.e. domain mapping in the sense of Lakoff (1993) and Croft (1993). In terms

Table 2:
Tabela 2:

English my-generator	Senses of MG-s	Polish equivalents
<i>Paper</i>	1. material 2. a newspaper 3. a formal piece of writing about an academic subject 4. an essay written by a student 5. part of a written examination 6. report on a question or a set of proposals for changes in law 7. cigarette paper 8. wallpaper 9. pl. Documents	<i>papier</i> <i>gazeta</i> <i>artykuł, referat</i> <i>esej, praca (semestralna)</i> <i>egzamin pisemny</i> <i>raport, referat</i> <i>bibułka</i> <i>tapeta</i> <i>dokumenty, papiery</i>

3 The fact that *house* is primarily an fm-generator does not mean that all its meanings are feature modifications. At least a few of them are metonymic, e.g. »the people who live together in a house«. I discuss this issue below.

Table 3:
Tabela 3:

English m-generator	Senses	Polish equivalents
<i>body</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. your physical parts 2. main part of your body 3. group of people 4. the largest part of building 5. the main part of a car, plane, etc. 6. the main part (of an army) 7. a large area of water 8. a large amount (of information) 9. strong flavour (of drinks) 10. (heavenly) natural object in space 11. bodysuit 	<i>Ciało</i> <i>tułów</i> <i>grono, ogół, organ</i> <i>korpus</i> <i>karoseria, nadwozie, kadłub</i> <i>trzon</i> <i>akwen</i> <i>materiał</i> <i>bukiet</i> <i>ciało (niebieskie)</i> <i>trykot</i>

of Kövecses (2000), an m-generator is a metaphor with a particularly wide scope. To see how m-generators work, let us consider the English word *body*. The table below shows its main metaphoric extensions and their Polish equivalents (Table 3).

It will be noticed that not all the ten senses of *body* extended from its prototypical first sense are metaphoric: senses 2 and 11 are clearly metonymic. However, since all the other senses are metaphoric we may safely call *body* a metaphor generator. Other equally productive m-generators in English are *face*, *mouth* (cf. Cruse, 1986, 72), *bed*, *frame*, *chip*, *wing*, *table*, *skirt*, *ring*, and probably many others. Newmark (1980) pointed out that those »dead« metaphors differ in their universality. Thus the ones often employed in technical vocabularies may be highly language specific, e.g. the word for DOG may have very different technical metaphoric extensions: in English it is a mechanical device for holding, such as a clamp, a drag, the hammer of a gunlock; in French it may denote a pawl, a latch, a catch, a hammer, a trolley, a towing block; in Italian – a catch, a cramp, a cock, a hammer; and a truck, a tub, or a mine car in German. In contrast, Newmark argues, the dead metaphors of non-technical words such as *head*, *food*, *bottom*, *arm*, *circle*, etc., »appear to have universal applications or aspirations for all languages«. As we have seen above, in the case of *body*, which certainly belongs to this group, the metaphoric routes these words take may also be highly idiosyncratic.

Mixed types of s-generators

Of course the terms such as e-generators, fm-generators, my-generators and m-generators should be regarded as cardinal points on a multidimensional scale of lexical developments. For instance, the semantic structure of the word *tarcza* (=»schild«) in Polish involves both metaphor and feature modification. Another »mixed« category is what I referred to as metonymy-

metaphor generators (mm-generators): lexical items which have extended their semantic structure more-or-less evenly through metonymy and metaphor. An excellent example of an mm-generator is the English word *cup* (cf. Bierwiazzonek 2007).

SEMPLES

In their recent paper, Levinson and Burenhult (2009) proposed a new descriptive concept in lexical semantics, which they claim can account for important regularities in the lexical organization of languages. As they define it (p. 170), the template:

- Has articulated nodes, bearing specific but abstract relations to one another, for example, through edges (which are undirected) or arcs (which are directed),
- Such that the nodes, edges, and arcs may be linguistically labelled or semantically incorporated into lexical items,
- And onto which at least two distinct lexical sets (layers) from different subdomains or form classes are mapped,
- With the sense relations between the lexical items is any one layer being inherited from the underlying template.

Levinson and Burenhult (2009) illustrate the concept of template with the »tilted world« template they found in a Mayan language of Mexico called Tzeltal. Tzeltal uses the cardinal direction system based on absolute geocentric coordinates of the north, south, west and east, which is used for special reference on any scale, although instead of four terms it has only three: 'up' is south, 'down' is north, and 'across' is east or west. This general configuration determines the structures of a number of formally unrelated lexical sets; e.g. the layer of abstract spatial nominals and the layer of basic intransitive verbs which indicate 'ascending', i.e. going south, 'descending', i.e. going north, and 'traversing', i.e. going west or east.

THE MARINE SEMPLATE AND THE DOMAINS OF WATER SEA AND SAILING IN ENGLISH

The hypothesis I wish to consider consists of a few general basic assumptions and a number of specific theses based on those assumptions.

General claims and assumptions:

Apart from universal image schemas and conceptual archetypes (cf. Langacker, 1999), there is a set of basic concepts in each culture which are derived from some common experiences in that culture. More specifically this means that:

- Although there might be a general schematic concept of a **THING**, in fact we may more often use its more concrete elaborations, e.g. (natural categories) *STONE, LEAF, BRANCH, STICK, BONE*, etc.; and (artifacts) *CUP, POT, BALL, CHAIR, TABLE, BOX, BRICK, BOARD, PIN*, etc. The lexemes denoting these categories often function as sense-generators.
- Similarly, there might be a general schematic concept of **MASS (SUBSTANCE)**, but in fact we may more often use its more concrete elaborations, e.g. *AIR, GAS, WATER, OIL, SAND, ROCK*, etc. Again, the lexemes denoting these categories often function as sense-generators.
- There might be a very general schema of **MOVEMENT IN SPACE**, but this schema may in fact be realized by a number of richer basic level concepts, such as *WALK, RUN, DANCE, DRIVE, FLY, SWIM* and *SAIL*. Again, the lexemes denoting these categories often function as sense-generators.

Specific theses:

1. In the languages of nations and cultures living on shores of seas or oceans the conceptual structure associated with the SEA will constitute a particularly productive semplate and the concepts and words associated with water and the sea will provide a large number of the most important source concepts determining the general conceptual and lexical structure as well as the identity of those nations and cultures.⁴ Since England, Poland and all the Mediterranean countries are such »marine« cultures, we should expect that aquatic and marine concepts will be particularly productive as sense-generators.

2. In »marine« cultures such as Poland, Slovenia, and particularly England (as an island), the general event structure metaphor, which often takes a more specific form of the metaphor *A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY*, takes on an even more particular form in the lower level metaphor *A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY*.

The above hypotheses can be best verified by ex-

amining the semantic structure of the basic lexical items belonging to the conceptual domains of *WATER, SEA* and *SAILING*, which jointly constitute the sea semplate, and the most common metaphors in which water, the sea and sailing provide the source domains. The lexical items we shall consider are five nouns: *water, sea, wave, boat* and *ship*, and two verbs: *to flow, to sail*. Although the present study is confined to English, I hope that future research into the conceptual and lexical structures of other »marine« languages, such as Norwegian, Polish, Slovenian, French as well as non-Indo-European languages will show to what extent the above claims can be confirmed or disconfirmed. The next step of the study could then involve a comparison of the lexical productivity of the domains of the SEA SEMPLATE with other domains, e.g. the domains of *SAND* and *DESERT*, in those languages as well the comparison of the role of the marine domain in the languages of non-marine cultures, such as e.g. Czech, Hungarian, Tibetan, the languages of Sudan (Sudanese Arabic, Bari, Toposa, or Zande), etc.

THE SEA SEMPLATE AND ITS SENSE-GENERATORS IN ENGLISH

The basic distinctions related to the SEA semplate, i.e. the crucial nodes in the configuration of the SEA semplate are represented by concepts and lexemes arranged in a number of different layers. A sample of the layers and lexemes is given below:

- 1) Body of water: *sea, ocean, bay, gulf, seaway, strait, channel, kyle, fjord, inlet, swash, lagoon*, etc.
- 2) Body of land defined as a profile against the base of the sea: *coast, seaboard, shore, beach, island, peninsula, shelf, spit, reef, seabed, seafloor, strath, cape, promontory*, etc.
- 3) Spontaneous activity and forms of sea water – waves, *tide, flood, seaway, swell, blind roller, beach/reef break*, etc.
- 4) Activities performed while interacting with water: *swim, sail, navigate, drown, sink, drift, go ashore, crash into rocks*, etc.
- 5) Adjectives related to the sea: *marine, seaworthy, seagoing, navigable, nautical*, etc.
- 6) Vehicles used to move on water: *boat, ship, ferry, towboat, tanker, brigantine, corvette, yacht, ice-breaker*, etc.
- 7) People related to the sea: *seafarer, sailor, deep-sea fisherman, helmsman, deckhand, seaman, admiral, commodore*, etc.
- 8) Basic directional oppositions: *inshore ≠ offshore, seaward(s) ≠ landward(s)*

⁴ The sea semplate for Old English has been recently proposed by Deborah DuBartell in her paper »The Anglo-Saxon 'sea' semplate: a preliminary analysis of a key concept in Old English lexical semantics« presented at 3rd UK Cognitive Linguistics Conference at University of Hertfordshire, 6–8 July 2010.

Water

Beside its prototypical meaning of »a clear thin liquid that has no colour or taste when it is pure« (*Cobuild Dictionary for Advanced Learners*) or »colourless transparent odourless tasteless liquid compound of oxygen and hydrogen, convertible into steam by heat and ice by cold« (*Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary*), *water* developed other senses. Here is a list of those senses along with the specification of the processes of meaning extension.

Extended meanings of *water*:

- 1) A liquid consisting chiefly of this and found in seas, lakes, and rivers, in rain and in secretions of organisms.
Metonymy: PART FOR WHOLE
- 2) An expanse of water: a sea, lake, river, etc.
Metonymy: WHOLE (SUBSTANCE) FOR PART (A QUANTITY)
- 3) Part of a sea or river, e.g. *in Icelandic waters*.
Metonymy: WHOLE FOR PART
- 4) Mineral water at a spa, esp. *The waters*.
Metonymy: CENTRAL PART OF LOCATION FOR LOCATION
- 5) The state of a tide, e.g. *high water*.
Metonymy: WHOLE (SUBSTANCE) FOR PARTICULAR FORM (OF THIS SUBSTANCE)
- 6) A solution of a specified substance in water, e.g. *lavender water*.
Metonymy: MAIN PART (COMPONENT) FOR WHOLE (SUBSTANCE)
- 7) The quality of the transparency and brilliance of a gem, esp. of a diamond.
Arguably Metonymy: WHOLE FOR ATTRIBUTE
- 8) An amount of nominal capital added by watering (i.e. increasing a company's debt or capital by the issue of new shares without a corresponding addition to assets).
Ontological metaphor: CAPITAL IS WATER

Verbal meanings of *water*:

- 9) Sprinkle or soak with water
- 10) Supply (a plant) with water
- 11) Give water to an animal to drink
- 12) (Of the mouth or eyes) To secrete water as saliva or tears, e.g. *It made my mouth water*
- 13) Adulterate (milk, beer) with water
- 14) Water down – make less vivid, forceful or horrifying
- 15) (Of a river) Supply a place with water
- 16) (Of an animal) Go to a pool etc, to drink
- 17) (Of a ship or engine) Take in a supply of water

All the verbal senses of *water* except sense 14, which is metaphoric, are metonymic where *water* stands for activities typically performed with it, e.g. supply water, or give water to drink.

Idiomatic expressions:

- 18) *By water* – using a ship
- 19) *To cast one's bread upon the waters* – without expecting reward
- 20) *Like water* – lavishly, profusely
- 21) *On the water* – on a ship
- 22) *Water under the bridge* – irrevocable past events
- 23) *Test the water(s)* – test an action or idea before you do it or tell people about
- 24) *Keep one's head above water* – avoid getting into difficulties
- 25) *Waters break* – the fluid in a pregnant woman's womb that surrounds the baby passes out of her body, e.g. *'My wife's waters broke at 6am.'*
- 26) *Hold water* – (of an argument) seem reasonable
- 27) *In hot water* – in trouble
- 28) *Pour cold water on sth* – show that you have a low opinion of sth, e.g. *'Economists poured water on the idea that the economic recovery has begun.'*
- 29) *In deep water* – in a difficult situation

Except for the simile in (20) and three metonymies in (18), (21) and (25) all the remaining eight senses are metaphoric, with the most common mapping: PROPERTIES OF SITUATION ARE PROPERTIES OF WATER.

However, the multiplicity of the senses of *water* is hardly surprising as *water* is so essential to life in general that there is hardly any culture that can do without it altogether. What is more culture specific is the importance of the sea and its most important perceptual form: waves.

Sea

The prototypical meaning of *sea* is 'the large area of salty water'. Its extended meanings include:

- 1) A very large number of people or things that all look similar, e.g. *the sea of faces*
- 2) The state of confusion, in the idiom (*all*) *at sea*
- 3) One of the broad areas that seem flat on the moon and Mars

All the extensions are metaphorical. With its three extensions, *sea* does not seem like a most powerful s-generator, but we should note that sense (1) is productive and hence frequent as a lexical metaphorical quantifier (cf. Radden & Dirven, 2007), cf. e.g. the title of the film *The Sea of Love*.

Wave

The prototypical meaning of *wave* is 'a line of raised water that moves across the surface of the sea'. There is little doubt that *wave* is a metaphor generator in English. Consider its extended senses:

- 1) A sudden increase in a particular type of behavior, activity or feeling, e.g. *a wave of anger*

- 2) A sudden increase in the number of people or things arriving at the same time
 - 3) The form in which some types of energy such as light or sound travel
 - 4) A movement in which you raise your arm and move your hand from side to side
 - 5) A loose curl of your hair
 - 6) An occasion when many people who are watching an event stand up, move their arms up and down and sit down again one after another in a continuous movement (esp. *Mexican wave*)
 - 7) Style of music, art, film etc., as in *new wave music*
 - 8) Problems, as in the idiom *make waves*
- The verbal meanings of *wave* seem all to be motivated either by the prototypical sense (10) or by sense (4) – (9), (11), (12), or by (5) – (13)
- 9) Raise your arm and move your hand from side to side in order to make someone notice you
 - 10) (Make sth) move from side to side, e.g. *a tree waving in the breeze*
 - 11) Show sb which way to go by waving your hand in that direction
 - 12) Move your arm and hand when you or the other party are leaving, esp. *wave goodbye to sb or sth.*
 - 13) (Of hair) (make hair) form loose curls

Boat

The prototypical senses of *boat* are first, »sth in which people can travel across water«; and second, a more specific (autohyponymic) sense »passenger ship«. Apart from those two »literal« senses *boat* appears also in a number of idioms, where it is used metaphorically, although in (2) and (3) they are motivated metonymically, the metonymy being PART OF EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT. In all the idioms the metaphoric mappings are SITUATION IS BOAT OR BEING IN A SITUATION IS BEING IN A BOAT.

Consider the following idioms with *boat*:

- 1) *Miss the boat* – miss an opportunity
- 2) *Push the boat out* – spend a lot of money on sth in order to celebrate, e.g. *I earn enough to push the boat out now and again* (Post)metonymy: PART OF CELEBRATION FOR WHOLE CELEBRATION
- 3) *Rock the boat* – upset a calm situation and cause trouble
- 4) *In the same boat* – in the same unpleasant situation

Ship

The dictionary definitions imply that in its basic prototypical sense *ship* is a hyponym of *boat*, as they define it as 'a large boat which carries passengers or cargo'. In addition, *ship* also has two verbal senses:

- 1) Send sth on a ship or by some other means of transport, e.g. *'Food is being shipped to drought-stricken regions of Africa.'*

- 2) *Ship out* – leave a place (esp. by ship)

The definitions indicate that each sense in fact comprises two senses. Thus (1) may involve a simple metonymy OBJECT FOR CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY and another sense 'send by some other means of transport', which involves a generalization (e.g. schematization, auto-superordination) of the basic metonymic sense. In the case of (2) the basic sense 'leave a place by ship' is also metonymic and its extension 'leave a place' again involves generalization. It must be noted, however, that in both cases the generalization is motivated metaphorically: sending sth on a ship and leaving a place by ship were first metaphorically mapped onto other forms of transport or traveling.

Conceptual field of boats and ships

In addition to the lexemes *boat* and *ship*, other lexical items belonging to the conceptual field of MARINE VESSELS denote a wealth of source concepts for metaphoric extensions in English:

- HELM – the steering wheel of a ship
 - *Take the helm* – take control.
 - *Be at the helm* – be the boss
- MAIN STAY – a main strong wire or rope used for supporting a ship's mast.
 - Leader, e.g. *'He was the mainstay of our team.'*
- DECK
 - *Hit the deck* – to fall to the ground in order to avoid something dangerous
 - *Clear the decks* – to clear the way for something, e.g. *'The hostage release could clear the decks for war.'*
- BOARD
 - *Go overboard* – over the side of a ship or boat into the water, to do or say something that is too extreme for a particular situation, e.g. *'I hope politicians will not go overboard in trying to control the press.'*
 - *Throw something overboard* – to get rid of an idea, system etc. that is considered to be useless or unnecessary
- KEEL – a bar along the bottom of a boat that keeps it steady in the water
 - *Keep something/get something back on an even keel* – steady, without any sudden changes, e.g. *'Now that the crisis is over, we must try to get things back on an even keel.'*
- HATCH – opening in the deck of a ship
 - *Down the hatch* – something you say before drinking an alcoholic drink quickly
 - *Batten down the hatches* – prepare oneself in order to survive a coming difficulty, e.g. *'Many firms are battening down the hatches and preparing to ride out the storm.'*
- SAIL – a large piece of strong cloth fixed onto a boat, so that the wind will push the boat along

- *Take the wind out of sb's sails* – make sb less confident
STERN – back part of a ship
- *From stem to stern* – 1. from the front of a ship to the back, e.g. '*He inspected the boat from stem to stern and decided he wanted to buy it.*' 2. from one end to another, e.g. '*Now, I have to clean the house from stem to stern.*'

To flow

The prototypical meaning of *flow* is '(of liquid) move steadily and continuously'

It also has seven extended senses, all of them metaphorical:

- 1) (Of people) move steadily in large groups
- 2) (Of money, information) move freely between people and organizations
- 3) (Of emotion) though sb – feel it very intensely
- 4) (Of quality or situation) from sth – result naturally from sth
- 5) (Of words) – be spoken smoothly and continuously
- 6) (Of hair or clothing) – hang freely and loosely
- 7) (Of places) with sth – there is a great deal of sth in that place

The converted noun *flow* appears in two idioms, both of them metaphorical:

- 8) *In full flow (of sb)* – talking easily and continuously and likely to go on
(*Of activity*) – has started and is being carried out with a lot of energy and enthusiasm
- 9) *Go with the flow* – let things happen without trying to control them

To sail

The central meanings of the verb *sail* are 'to travel on or across an area of water in a boat or ship', 'to start a journey by boat or ship' and 'to direct or control the movement of a boat or ship that has a sail'. Other senses are clearly metaphorical:

- 1) To move quickly and smoothly through the air
- 2) To move forwards gracefully and confidently
- 3) To succeed very easily on a test, examination, etc.

PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY

Apart from the polysemous structure of the single lexemes linked with the marine environment of the English culture, the multifarious and ubiquitous experience of the sea has also its impact on the structure of English conceptual metaphors of life. To begin with, let us recall the general mappings in the event structure metaphor suggested by Lakoff (1993):

- STATES ARE LOCATIONS
- CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS (INTO AND OUT OF BOUNDED REGIONS)

- CAUSES ARE FORCES
- ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS
- PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS
- MEANS ARE PATHS (to destinations)
- DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION
- EXPECTED PROGRESS IS A TRAVEL SCHEDULE
- EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE, MOVING OBJECTS
- LONG-TERM, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

What I show below is that this very general metaphor of life takes on a rather more specific form in English, namely PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY. The mappings in this metaphor are as follows:

- STATES ARE SEA-RELATED LOCATIONS: SEA, COAST, ISLAND, PORT
- CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS ON THE SEA
- CAUSES ARE »MARINE« FORCES, e.g. WAVES, WIND
- ACTIONS ARE »MARINE« SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS, e.g. SAILING
- PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, e.g. PORTS, HARBOURS, DISTANT SHORES
- MEANS ARE PATHS (to destinations), e.g. ROUTES TAKEN BY BOATS and SHIPS (BOATS and SHIPS themselves are MEANS)
- DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION ON THE SEA
- EXPECTED PROGRESS IS A VOYAGE SCHEDULE
- EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE, MOVING OBJECTS,
- LONG-TERM, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS BY SEA

These conceptual mappings of the PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY metaphor appear in various forms and realizations in English. Below is a representative sample. Note that some of the idioms have already been mentioned, but now they can be seen as parts of a larger whole:

- 1) STATES ARE SEA-RELATED LOCATIONS: SEA, WATERS, BAY, PORT
 - (*All*) *at sea* – in a ship on the sea, to be perplexed, confused
 - *In dire straits* – in a calamitous situation
 - *In (adj.) waters*, e.g. '*The Polish government may soon be in stormy economic waters.*'
- 2) CHANGES IN LIFE ARE CHANGES OF THE COURSE OF SAILING
 - *On another tack* – to change position, attitude etc.
 - *To drift off* – to gradually change from being in one condition, situation etc into another without realizing it
- 3) LONG-TERM, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS BY SEA
 - *Sail through life* – make progress with little effort, e.g. '*She's always had brains, looks and luck. She has just sailed through life.*'

- *Plain/smooth sailing* – to be very easy to do or achieve, e.g. 'If you can answer the first question, the rest of the test should be plain sailing, it's smooth sailing from here on.'
 - 4) FORCES (FAVOURABLE or ADVERSE) IN LIFE ARE WINDS or WAVES
 - *Upwind* – in the opposite direction to the way the wind is blowing ≠ *downwind* – in the direction that the wind is moving, *fair wind* – favourable wind
 - *Take the wind out of somebody's sails* – make sb lose their confidence
 - *See which way the wind is blowing* – find out what the situation is before you do sth or make a decision
 - *Sail close to the wind* – to do or say sth that is nearly wrong, illegal or dishonest
 - *Swim with/against the tide* – support or oppose what most people think)
 - 5) CONTROLLING LIFE IS CONTROLLING THE SHIP
 - *Take the helm* – take control
 - *Be at the helm* – be the boss
 - *Try a different tack* – (tack is a change in the direction a ship is going) – try a different method e.g. 'I tried to learn French by reading novels but it didn't work so well. So I tried a different tack. I went to a language school in France.'
 - *Under one's own steam* – not pulled by another ship, e.g. 'She needed lots of help while she was learning the ropes but now she's operating under her own steam.'
 - *Learn the ropes* (a truncated form of *learn the ropes of a sailing ship*) – learn how to do a new job, e.g. 'In a very new job it takes a while to learn the ropes.'
 - 6) HAVING PROBLEMS IN LIFE IS HAVING PROBLEMS WHILE SAILING
 - *Be stranded* – (*strand* is an old word for 'beach') to be stuck somewhere with no means of transport
 - *Run aground* – experience a difficulty which stops progress
 - *To leave someone high and dry* – to leave sb in a difficult situation, one which they might find it difficult to get out of
 - *In the doldrums* – (the doldrums is the region near the equator which is often windless) in a state of making little or no progress for days and weeks
 - *Between the devil and the deep blue sea* – in a difficult situation because there are only two choices you can make and both of them are unpleasant
 - *Keel over* – (of people) to faint or collapse and fall over
 - 7) EXPERIENCING A SITUATION IS BEING IN A BOAT
 - *Be in the same boat* (as somebody) – to be in the same unpleasant situation as someone else
 - *To rock the boat* – to stir things up – ontological metaphors, identifying causes
 - *Burn your boats* – to do something with the result that you will not be able to return to a previous situation again, even if you want to
 - *Give someone leeway* – (the leeway in nautical terms is the drift of an object, with the wind, on the water's surface or the sideward motion of a ship due to wind and current) – give sb sufficient freedom to do what they want to do
 - *Give someone or something a wide berth* – (a 'berth' is a 'parking place' for a ship) – to avoid sb or sth
 - *In the offing* – (originally of a ship approaching port visible at sea off the land) likely to happen in the near future
 - *Fire a shot across someone's bow* – give him/her a clear warning
- Although the list is by no means complete, it seems representative enough to demonstrate the productivity and systematicity of the conceptual metaphor PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY, the metaphor which is deeply entrenched in English because of the common experience of sailing and interacting with the sea and the resultant SEA semple. English, as a language of islanders, is of course an extreme example of how a nation's common experience may shape its conceptual structure and, as a result, the metaphorical extensions of its basic »aquatic« and »marine« terms, as well as the source of its idioms. As I previously mentioned, it remains to be seen to what extent the generalizations suggested here hold true also of other languages. For instance, future research should show to what extent English shares its conceptual metaphors with other marine languages, e.g. the languages of the Mediterranean, and how it differs in this respect from languages of non-marine nations.
- Finally, it should come as no surprise that the proverbs of marine nations like the English should also use marine and nautical experiences to express their national wisdom. Here are a few examples:
- *Calm waters do not make a skilled sailor* – perform in challenging situations
 - *Listen to the forecast, but sail the weather you are in* – balance strategy and tactics
 - *Don't leave wind to find wind* – take risks responsibly
 - *Any port in a storm* – respond to crisis situations
 - *A missing 50-cent cotter pin can sink a ship* – pay attention to details
 - *Changing a boat's name can be bad luck* – honour rituals and tradition
 - *Local knowledge is often better than a chart* – listen to your team of experts
 - *Keep one hand on the helm and one for yourself* – balance your work/life
 - *Alone at the helm on night watch* – be aware in the present moment

CONCLUSION

The main thesis of this short study was that in the languages of nations and cultures living on the shores of seas or oceans the conceptual structure associated with the SEA will constitute a particularly productive semplate and the concepts and words associated with water and the sea will provide a large number of sense generators and the most important source concepts determining the conceptual structures of those nations and cultures. Since England is such »marine« culture, we have presented the general structure of the SEA semplate in English and analyzed five English nouns: *water*, *sea*, *wave*, *boat* and *ship*, and two English verbs: *to flow*, *to sail*, which function as particularly productive sense – generators, i.e. the lexemes which exhibit particularly rich polysemy, most of which results from metaphoric extensions of their basic aquatic or nautical senses. Since an important component of the SEA semplate in English is the domain of vessels used in traveling on sea,

along with their parts and associated human activities, these parts and activities motivate a large number of English idioms, which metaphorically map the nautical experiences onto other domains of human life. The same cognitive mechanism is involved in the conceptual structure and functioning of numerous English proverbs. In addition, we have shown that in English the high level metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY takes on a more particular form in the lower level metaphor PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY, again motivated by the »marine« nature of the English culture. Although the present study has been confined to English, the future research into the conceptual and lexical structures of other »marine« languages, such as Norwegian, Polish, Slovenian, French as well as »non-marine« languages, such as e.g. Czech, Hungarian, Tibetan, etc., should show to what extent its main theses, which have been borne out by the English data, can be confirmed or disconfirmed cross-linguistically.

PANTA REI – O KONCEPTIH IN BESEDAH ZA VODO IN MORJE V ANGLEŠKEM JEZIKU

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POVZETEK

Glavna predpostavka predstavljene kratke študije je, da z morjem povezana konceptualna struktura pri narodih in kulturah, ki naseljujejo obale morij in oceanov, ustvarja izrazito produktivno semantično šablono, koncepti in besede, povezane z vodo in morjem pa nudijo veliko število generatorjev pomena in najpomembnejše izvirne koncepte, ki določajo konceptualne strukture teh narodov in kultur. Glede na to, da je angleška kultura »morska«, smo predstavili osnovno strukturo semantične šablone sea (ang. morje) v angleščini in analizirali pet angleških samostalnikov, *water*, *sea*, *wave*, *boat* in *ship* (ang. voda, morje, val, čoln in ladja), ter dva angleška glagola, *to flow*, *to sail* (ang. teči, jadрати), ki delujejo kot posebej močni generatorji pomena, torej leksemi, ki kažejo izrazito večpomenskost in večinoma nastanejo kot metaforični podaljški svojih osnovnih vodnih in navtičnih pomenov. Glede na to, da je pomembna komponenta angleške semantične šablone SEA domena plovil, namenjenih potovanju po morju s svojimi pripadajočimi deli in z njimi povezanimi človeškimi aktivnostmi, se ti deli in aktivnosti pojavljajo v številnih angleških idiomih, ki metaforično prenašajo navtične izkušnje na druga področja človeškega življenja. Isti kognitivni mehanizem je na delu v konceptualni strukturi in delovanju številnih angleških pregovorov. V prispevku smo prikazali tudi to, da v angleščini metafora višjega reda, A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY (ang. polno življenje je potovanje), zavzame bolj določeno obliko v metafori nižjega reda, PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY (ang. polno življenje je potovanje po morju), ki jo prav tako osmišlja »morska« narava angleške kulture. Pričujoča raziskava je omejena zgolj na angleški jezik, v prihodnosti pa bi lahko raziskave konceptualnih in leksikalnih struktur v drugih »morskih« jezikih, kot so norveški, poljski, slovenski in francoski jezik, pa tudi v »nemorskih« jezikih, kot so češki, madžarski, tibetanski idr. jezik, pokazale, v kolikšni meri je mogoče z navzkrižno lingvistično analizo potrditi ali zavreči osrednjo hipotezo tega prispevka, ki temelji na podatkih iz angleščine.

Ključne besede: kultura, leksikalna semantika, koncepti morja, metafora, semantična šablona, generatorji pomena

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»JADRAN JE NAŠ«. NACIONALNO PRISVAJANJE JADRANSKEGA MORJA PRED PRVO SVETOVNO VOJNO IN PO NJEJ

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IZVLEČEK

Jadransko morje je od nekdaj veljalo bodisi za območje stika bodisi za nepremostljivo oviro in mejo med bregovima. Zlasti vzpon nacionalne ideje je bil razlog, da je od druge polovice 19. stoletja prišlo do vse bolj odkrite »nacionalizacije morja«. Jadransko morje se je znašlo v primežu obdobja nacij in nacionalizma ter posameznih prisvajalnih nacionalističnih vizij, ki so si prizadevale za nacionalno osvojitve Jadrana; posamezne nacionalne ideologije so trdile, da je Jadransko morje Mare nostrum.

Žarišče pričujočega prispevka je preučitev prisvajalnih tendenc raznih nacionalnih akterjev, bodisi nacionalistične organizacije, posamezniki ali državne ustanove, ki so si s svojo retoriko, in nemalokrat tudi s političnimi praksami, lastili Jadransko morje v času pred prvo svetovno vojno in po njej. Poseben poudarek je posvečen analizi interesov tistih srednjeevropskih sil, ki so po razpadu večnacionalnih imperijev, v tem primeru habsburške monarhije, »posredno« mejile na jadranski prostor.

Ključne besede: Jadran, Jadransko morje, nacionalizem, jadransko vprašanje, mednarodni odnosi

»L'ADRIATICO È NOSTRO«. L'APPROPRIAZIONE NAZIONALE DELL'ADRIATICO PRIMA E DOPO LA GRANDE GUERRA

SINTESI

Il mare Adriatico può essere considerato sia come territorio d'incontro e convergenza oppure come un limite invalicabile e confine tra due sponde. Soprattutto l'ascesa dell'idea nazionale è stata la causa che ha portato, dalla seconda metà del XIX secolo, ad una sempre più esplicita »nazionalizzazione del mare«. Il mare Adriatico si è così trovato ad essere vittima dell'epoca dei nazionalismi e delle contrapposte visioni nazionaliste, che si adoperavano per l'appropriazione nazionale dell'Adriatico; le varie ideologie nazionali affermavano che il mare Adriatico era Mare nostrum.

L'obiettivo di questo studio è quello di analizzare le tendenze appropriatrici dei vari attori nazionali, sia che fossero organizzazioni nazionaliste, singole persone oppure entità statali, che con la loro retorica, e spesso anche con pratiche politiche, tentavano di appropriarsi del mare Adriatico nel periodo precedente ed antecedente la prima guerra mondiale. L'attenzione è rivolta soprattutto a quegli ambiti statali centroeuropei, che dopo la Grande guerra e la dissoluzione degli imperi multinazionali, in questo caso dell'impero Austro-Ungarico, confinavano »indirettamente« con lo spazio adriatico.

Parole chiave: Adriatico, mare Adriatico, nazionalismo, questione adriatica, relazioni internazionali

UVOD

V zadnjih letih se je zunanjepolitična agenda na relaciji slovensko-hrvaških odnosov večkrat omejila na določanje državne meje na morju. Prisvajalni diskurzi državnih ustanov, organizacij civilne družbe in uglednih posameznikov so na eni in drugi strani privedli do napetih trenutkov in toni so bili včasih tako ostri, da so polemike odmevale celo na evropski ravni, medtem ko je debata o tem, kje naj poteka meja v Piranskem zalivu, monopolizirala lokalno sceno, bodisi na politični bodisi na ravni civilne družbe. Slovenski osrednji tednik *Mladina* je nastalo situacijo ironično strnil v majici z napisom »Jadran je naš«. Napis se navezuje na propagandistični slogan iz časa po drugi svetovni vojni »Trst je naš«, a se je v zadnjih letih ponovno pojavil kot uspešen populistični slogan v slovenski politični areni.¹ Med najbolj znanimi primeri je prav gotovo uspeh liste dosedanjega koprškega župana Borisa Popoviča »Koper je naš«, a ta besedna zveza se je v kratkem razširila tudi v druga okolja. Čeprav so se polemični toni med Ljubljano in Zagrebom, v mesecih od začetka pisanja tega članka (leta 2009) do časa, ko je pred končno oddajo v tisk (marec 2011), precej umirili, je vprašanje meje na morju, v pričakovanju mednarodne arbitraže, še vedno med najpomembnejšimi vprašanji med državama.

Vendar spori o Jadranskem morju niso od danes. Podobne prisvajalne tendence so bile namreč v praksi že v preteklosti; prav gotovo je postopna oslabeitev Beneške republike v 18. stoletju, ki je več stoletij monopolizirala jadranski prostor, in širjenje habsburške države proti jugu, na Balkan, ter njena uveljavitev kot velike sile, jadranskemu prostoru prinesla nove razvojne možnosti. Leta 1717 je cesar Karel VI. razglasil svobodno plovo po Jadranskem morju, kar je postopoma zmanjšalo vlogo *Serenissime* in kazalo na novo razporeditev moči v tem prostoru. Habsburška monarhija je zase zahtevala novo, vidno vlogo na ekonomskem mednarodnem prizorišču in je Trst in Reko izbrala za mesti, preko katerih bo trgovala s svetovnimi trgi. Zato ju je leta 1719 cesar

Karel VI. razglasil za svobodni pristanišči in iz Jadranskega morja nameraval narediti kanal za avstrijsko mednarodno trgovino.²

Podobno gospodarsko politiko sta sprejela tudi habsburška vladarica Marija Terezija in njen sin Jožef II. Čeprav izmenjava med jadranskimi pristanišči in tistimi deli imperija, ki so bili industrijsko najbolj razviti, ni dosegla tistega obsega, ki si ga je želel Dunaj, je gospodarsko sodelovanje ob pomoči državnih ukrepov zabeležilo pomembne uspehe. Hkrati so geopolitične spremembe od sredine 19. stoletja dalje Jadransko morje postopoma spremenile v interno jezero Trojne zveze, ki so jo leta 1882 oblikovali novonastali državni subjekti: Italija in Nemčija med letoma 1860 in 1871 in Avstro-Ogrska, ki je svoj dualistični ustroj uvedla leta 1867.³ A kljub temu, da so Berlin, Rim in Dunaj prišli do skupnih dogovorov glede upravljanja Jadrana (vojaško ga je npr. nadzirala avstro-ogrsko mornarica), bi bilo zmotno misliti, da so bila ravnotežja dokončno fiksirana.⁴ Zlasti vzpon nacionalne ideje je bil razlog, da je od druge polovice 19. stoletja prišlo do vse bolj odkrite »nacionalizacije morja«.⁵

Tako kot evropsko celino je obdobje nacij in nacionalizma prevzelo tudi Jadransko morje. Po dokončnem propadu *Serenissime* leta 1797 in kratkotrajnem ter neuspešnem Napoleonovem poskusu obvladovanja vzhodno-jadranskega prostora z oblikovanjem Ilirskih provinc se je v jadranskem prostoru ustvaril vakuum, ki so ga želele zapolniti zgoraj omenjene države: Italija, Nemčija in Avstro-Ogrska.⁶ Z opozarjanjem na nekatera nasprotja med evropskimi imperiji in na diskurze ter politične prakse, ki so jih ti ali z njimi povezane organizacije oziroma posamezniki uveljavljali, se pričujoča študija želi vključiti v mednarodni znanstveni dialog, ki je izbral jadranski prostor kot primarni analitični fokus. Kljub temu da so bile do pred kratkim jadranske teme, zaradi perifernosti jadranskega prostora iz perspektive nacionalnocentričnih raziskav, na obrobju znanstvenega preučevanja, so nekatere študije postavile Jadransko morje v novo, središčno lego.⁷ V tem kontekstu želi članek prispevati segment k razumevanju načinov, kako so se

1 O zgodovini sintagme »Trst je naš« glej Pirjevec, 2008. Kako predstavlja uporaba te besedne zveze spolzko in delikatno področje, je pokazal tudi naslov kratkometražnega filma in hkrati diplomskega dela študenta na ljubljanski filmski akademiji, ki je zmotil celo sam vrh italijanske diplomacije; zunanji minister Franco Frattini je namreč čutil potrebo uradno poseči v bran »italijanskosti« Trsta, tako da je kratkometražec v kratkem doživel ogromen in nepričakovan uspeh publike tako v Sloveniji kot v Trstu ter njegovi okolici, kjer so ga predvajali po raznih slovenskih vaških društvih. Ko so polemike glede filma pojenjale, se je napis »Trst je naš« znova pojavil na ogromnem plakatu v sklopu umetniškega projekta na ulici F. Severo sredi Trsta; kmalu zatem pa kot naslov na prvi strani slovenske izdaje revije *Playboy*. V teh primerih je italijanska politika modro molčala, a nelagodje v nekaterih krogih tržaške javnosti se je vendarle pokazalo na straneh tržaškega italijanskega dnevnika *Il Piccolo*.

2 O pomenu Reke in zlasti Trsta ter njunem gospodarskem vzponu od 18. stoletja dalje je izšlo več del. Med najbolj popolnimi gre izpostaviti Finzi et al., 2001–2003. Za uvodni del pričujočega članka gre še posebej omeniti Rumpfer, 2003.

3 O Jadranskem morju kot internem morju Trozveze glej Wörsdörfer, 2008.

4 O mednarodni pomorski politiki in vlogi Jadranskega morja v kontekstu avstrijsko-italijansko-nemških odnosov glej Sondhaus, 1994.

5 V smislu Mossejeve nacionalizacije množic prim. Mosse, 1974.

6 Med deli, ki so v zadnjem času izšli na temo nacionalnega vprašanja v jadranskem prostoru, glej Cattaruzza, 2003.

7 Med zadnjimi deli, ki se iz različnih perspektiv ukvarjajo z jadranskimi temami, gre omeniti zlasti Cocco, Minardi, 2007; Trinchese, Caccamo, 2008; 2011; Petri, 2010. Med slovenskimi deli glej Baskar, 2002.

internacionalne, nacionalne in lokalne narativne prakse stekale v jadranskem prostoru. Analiza se omejuje na obdobje pred prvo svetovno vojno in po njej, ko trenja na tem območju predstavljajo paradigmo za razumevanje nacionalnih nasprotij v širšem evropskem kontekstu.

Geopolitične spremembe, ki jih je povzročila Velika vojna, so na eni strani sprožile apetite novih, »nacionalnih« držav, ki so nastale na pogorišču razpadlih večnacionalnih imperijev, na drugi pa odprle pot iredentističnim upom nove Italije, ki je širila svojo imperialno politiko proti vzhodu. V tem smislu lahko politična nesoglasja uporabimo za razumevanje spornih mejnih območij, bodisi na kopnem kot na morju, ki so zaznamovala zgodovino evropske celine, predvsem, a ne izključno njenega srednjega in vzhodnega dela.

JADRANSKI PROSTOR IN »NACIONALIZACIJA MORJA«

Mehanizmi, ki so privedli do združitve jadranskega prostora, se niso nenadoma pojavili sredi 20. stoletja, po 2. svetovni vojni, z oblikovanjem socialistične Jugoslavije, ki je dejansko obvladovala celotno vzhodno-jadransko obalo, od Boke Kotorske vse do Trsta, temveč so imeli svojo genezo in mentalno podstat v nacionalnem 19. stoletju (Ballinger, 2007).

V obdobju postopne povečane mednarodne konkurence in imperialističnih ter kolonialističnih apetitov evropskih, a tudi zunajevropskih sil, ki so zaznamovali zadnji dve desetletji 19. stoletja, jadranski prostor ni bil izjema. V primerjavi z zaveznicama iz Trojne zveze je bila Italija, kljub politični šibkosti, v prednosti. Zaradi dotedanje beneške hegemonije ni čudno, da je Fernand Braudel v svojem monumentalnem delu o Sredozemlju, ki je prvič izšlo leta 1949, napisal, da so bile obale Jadrana »območje zmagoslavne italijanske kulture« (Braudel, 1995, 131). Na prevlado večstoletne italijanske kulture in civilizacije se je večkrat navezovala italijanska nacionalistična retorika, ki je v tistih letih, na osnovi idej za politično zedinjenje apeninskega polotoka, vse bolj pridobivala na intenzivnosti. V primerjavi z zgodnejšimi misleci, kot npr. Albertom Fortisem, ki je v 70-ih letih 18. stoletja v vzhodnem sosedu videl neke vrste rousseaujevskega »dobrega divjaka«, ali pa nekoliko poznejših piscev, kot sta bila npr. zgodnji Giuseppe Mazzini ali Niccolò Tommaseo, ki so slovanske sosesde videli in jih razumevali kot zaveznike v boju za nacionalno in

politično emancipacijo, so marsikateri kasnejši italijanski patrioti »drugega« z vzhodnega jadranskega brega potiskali v ozadje oziroma v podrejeni položaj (Fortis, 1987).⁸ Tudi taki, kot je bil na primer Pacifico Valussi, ki je še leta 1848 propagiral sodelovanje med Italijani in Slovani, se je kasneje opredelil za bolj agresivno italijansko politiko v jadranskem prostoru (Pirjevec, 2008, 31–32; prim. Valussi, 1871). Gesla in pojmi italijanskega nacionalizma in iredentizma so znani: od mentalnega konstrukta, ki posledično povezuje *latinità*, *romanità*, *venezianità* in se avtomatično reflektira v *italianità*, do mita biti *ante murale*, ki se kaže v različnih oznakah: »krščanskost«, »evropskost«, »branik civilizacije« v vzhodnem Sredozemlju in predvsem v jadranskem prostoru.⁹ Propagandna retorika je svoj višek dosegla s fašističnim režimom, ko je Mussolini 9. maja 1936 razglasil fašistični imperij in uresničil ambicije italijanskega sredozemskega imperija, najprej z zasedbo afriškega ozemlja in ustanovitvijo območja t. i. Africa Orientale Italiana ter nato z napadom na države na drugem bregu Jadranskega morja (Albanija, Grčija, Jugoslavija).¹⁰ Tako je italijanski duce uresničil gesla o italijanski prevladi v Jadranu, ki so izhajala iz nacionalističnega vzdušja 19. stoletja in ki jih je fašistično gibanje že od samega začetka svojega delovanja sprejelo za svoja ter jih privedlo do skrajnih oblik nadvlade.

Vendar so tudi drugi konkurenti imeli svoje zahteve in kljub temu, da je bil položaj Italije ugodnejši, so Nemčija, Avstro-Ogrska, predvsem pa novi nacionalni subjekti vzhodnega jadranskega prostora, vključeni v habsburški imperij, začeli oblikovati v 19. stoletju svojo »Jadransko zavest«. Nadaljnja analiza se zato ne namerava ukvarjati z že znanimi apropiacijskimi tendencami italijanskega nacionalizma in iredentizma, temveč se želi usmeriti na nasprotno stran in izpostaviti, kakšni so bili legitimacijski mehanizmi »drugega«, tistega, ki ga Braudel imenuje *de l'altra sponda* (Braudel, 1995, 132).

Med najbolj povednimi in očitnimi primeri »novega vala« v intelektualni percepciji jadranskega prostora gre prav gotovo izpostaviti Simona Jenka, slovenskega pesnika, ki je že leta 1865 tožil, da Jadransko morje ni več slovansko. Tistega leta je namreč v svojih Pesmih izdal pesem *Adrijansko morje*, morje, »nekdanj slovansko«, kjer naj bi nekoč »mesta bela naših dedov [...] cvetela«, to morje je »tuji meč« podjarmil (Jenko, 2002, 68). V tej nostalgичni pesmi, ki jo je nato uglasbil Anton Hajdrih in se jo v zborovskem sestavu poje še danes, je čutiti, kako je Jadransko morje enotna mentalna komponenta s kop-

8 Konceptualizacija Fortisove perspektive in predstavitev njegove ter na splošno beneške razsvetljenske paradigme vzhodnega Jadrana je v Wolff (2006). O konceptih sodelovanja med italijanskim in slovanskim svetom v mislih omenjenih intelektualcev glej Pirjevec (1977) in Pirjevec (1971). O večnacionalni strukturi in regionalni identiteti na vzhodnem Jadranu sredi 19. stoletja glej Reill, 2007.

9 Med mnogimi deli, ki opozarjajo na to temo, so med novjšimi Ferraioli (2008) in v istem zborniku tudi Tamburini (2008) in Di Girolamo (2008). Kako se je retorika o italijanski civilizaciji nadaljevala po drugi svetovni vojni glej članek Mihelj S. (2011), ki je v tisku. Zahvaljujem se avtorici, da sem lahko uporabil rokopisno verzijo članka.

10 Med boljšimi deli, ki so v zadnjem času izšli na to temo, je prav gotovo Rodogno, 2003; glej tudi Burgwyn, 2005.

nim, kjer so se Slovani zlili v »italijansko kulturo«, o kateri je pisal Braudel.¹¹ Uporaba zgodovinskega mita o prvenstvu ene skupine (v tem primeru Slovanov) v nekem prostoru (na Jadranu), ki si ga lastijo tudi druge skupine (romansko, v tem primeru zlasti italijansko prebivalstvo), je še posebej pomembna, saj naj bi v politični perspektivi ta skupina bila bolj upravičena od druge, da zahteva ta teritorij zase. Na podobnih temeljih je slonela retorika o »italijanski civilizaciji«. Zato je po eni strani Jenko sicer res tožil po asimilaciji (prvotnega) slovanskega prebivalstva in torej priznaval asimilacijo slovanskega življa v italijansko kulturo, a hkrati je na tak način poudaril, čigav »brod« je prvi plul po Jadranu in prvenstvo namenjal Slovanom.¹²

Jenkovo pisanje gre postaviti v obdobje, ko je slovenska inteligenca začela odločneje izpostavljati svoje nacionalne zahteve, ki so vključevale tudi Jadransko morje. Neposredna posledica teh političnih in družbenih sprememb, ki jih je prineslo leto 1848, ter postopna politizacija lokalne družbe, v Trstu, ki je v tistem času postalo najpomembnejše avstrijsko pristanišče in mesto z največjim številom Slovencev, je pripomogla k temu, da je že leto kasneje začel izhajati časopis z imenom Jadranski Slavjan. Kljub temu, da je bilo glasilo kmalu ukinjeno, so se v naslednjih letih in desetletjih tam tiskali še drugi podobni časopisi, kot npr. Jadranska zarja, Jadranka, Svetilnik, Ilirski Primorjan, Jadranski Almanah in drugi, ki so že v samem imenu poudarjali svojo jadranskost. Podpirali so v glavnem liberalne ideje, ki so jih po vzoru mladočehov v slovenski prostor prinesli mladostenci. Propagirali so ideje o enakopravnosti Slovencev in Slovanov ob Jadranu, kjer je v tistem času politični, gospodarski in vsesplošni družbeni tempo diktiralo italijansko nacionalistično meščanstvo. Njihovo liberalno nacionalno stranko je Jadranska zarja primerjala s »trakulj[ol] (Bandwurm), ki našej državi pije življenje iz telesa« in svarila Dunaj pred podpiranjem italijanstva ob vzhodnih jadranskih obalah, v upanju, da bo to zajezilo zahteve »Jugoslovanov«. Zato je vlado opozarjala, da »Jadransko morje je Avstrii krvna žila, krv v tej žili pa so Slovani, ker skora vsa vožja po morji je v njihovih rokah. Na vseh ladijah od velikanskega Lloydovega parovoznega društva do zadnje jambornice so kapitani i mnoštvo – Slovani« (Jadranska zarja, 3. 10. 1869, 1). Če se je italijanski iredentizem samolegitimiral na podlagi »rimskega« v smislu neločljive kontinuitete z italijanskostjo jadranskega prostora, so se predvsem Slovenci in Hrvati, v rastoči politično-ideološki kontrapoziciji o avtohtonosti in prvobitnosti ene nacije pred

drugo, sklicevali na etnično kontinuiteto z Iliri (Negrelli, 2002, 1353; Verginella, 2005, 94–96).

Pojmovanje Jadranskega morja kot integralnega elementa nacionalnega telesa je prevevalo marsikatero področje tedanje družbe. Z istim namenom (in imenom) so namreč nastajala slovanska (zlasti slovenska in hrvaška) »nacionalna« športna in kulturna društva, gospodarske zadruge in politična gibanja, ki so poudarjala pomen in vlogo jadranskega prostora ter se z njim simbolno identificirala. Športna društva so se med drugim imenovala Jadran in Primorje, kulturna Primorec in Primorsko, najpomembnejša banka z mešanim slovensko-hrvaško-češkim kapitalom v Trstu pa je bila Jadranska. Kaže se, kako so nove nacionalne organizacije pogosto uporabljale imena, ki so bila povezana z Jadranskim morjem. To je bil jasen znak, da so se nacionalne zahteve južno-slovenskih narodov habsburške monarhije nanašale ne samo na osrednje, celinske predele ozemlja, temveč tudi na njihova obalna območja. Zemljevid, ki ga je leta 1853 sestavil jurist, politik, geograf in član dunajskega društva Slovenija, Peter Kozler, ki je poleg Kranjske in sosednjih dežel v teritorij slovenskih dežel vključil tudi ves Tržaški zaliv, od izliva Soče do izliva Dragonje, je to eksplicitno zahteval.¹³

V svoji nadaljnji analizi se študija posveča predvsem temu območju vzhodnega Jadrana in jadranske obale, saj je bilo v naslednjih desetletjih med najbolj spornimi. Ob tem, kot je pravilno ugotovil Karl Stuhlpfarrer, prav Trst bolj kot katerokoli drugo jadransko mesto v pojmovanju Avstrijcev predstavlja referenčno točko za Jadransko morje, vse odkar ga je Dunaj izbral za svoje »okno v svet«. Podobno lahko ugotovljamo tudi za širše srednjeevropsko območje. Zato bi bilo zgrešeno omejiti prisvajalne tendence po Jadranu na glavna državna akterja 20. stoletja, Italijo in Jugoslavijo. Kot piše Wörsdörfer, v 19. in 20. stoletju niso bile del jadranskega prostora le tiste države, ki so nanj neposredno mejile, temveč tudi tiste, ki so »posredno mejile« na Jadransko morje in tu imele svoje interese (Wörsdörfer, 2008, 190–191). Zato je mogoče Stuhlpfarrerjevo trditev o Trstu, in posledično celotnemu severno-vzhodnemu Jadranu, kot referenčni točki, aplicirati tudi na druge evropske državne subjekte.

Jadransko mentalno obzorje in zavest o povezanosti z njim nista segala samo do Dunaja, temveč vse do Prage, Budimpešte in čez, do Bavarske, Slovaške in južne Poljske. Navdušene vzklike, ki jih je češki pisatelj Václav Karel Krofta zлил na papir ob svojem prvem »srečanju« z Jadranskim morjem leta 1923, lahko apli-

11 Tudi Braudel govori o asimilaciji slovanskega življa v nek skupni italijanski milje in o »izumljeni italijanski genealogiji« (Braudel, 1995, 132).

12 O uporabi zgodovinskih mitov, ki jih je mogoče aplicirati in razširiti iz balkanskega tudi na jadranski prostor, glej Kolstø, 2002.

13 Med najnovejšimi izdajami zemljevida je Kozler, 1995.

ciramo na marsikatero mentalno strukturo srednjeevropskega človeka z začetka 20. stoletja.¹⁴ Ne gre samo za avstrijsko povezanost (Avstrija mišljena bodisi v smislu cislajtanskega dela habsburške monarhije bodisi v smislu republike Avstrije, ki je nastala po prvi svetovni vojni), marveč za širše zaledje, ki presega celó teritorialno dediščino habsburškega imperija. Ta povezanost je namreč segala vse do Nemčije, ki je v letih pred prvo svetovno vojno igrala v tem prostoru pomembno politično, diplomatsko in gospodarsko vlogo. Zaradi malonemškega koncepta, ki je obveljal po vojni z Avstrijo leta 1866 in po ustanovitvi nemškega imperija leta 1871, severni Jadran ni mogel biti primarna prioriteta uradne nemške zunanje politike, (pomembna izjema je bila kasnejša ustanovitev Operacijske cone Jadransko primorje v času druge svetovne vojne). Vendar se nekatere nemške nacionalistične organizacije, kot na primer Alldeutsche Verband, niso odpovedale jadranskim obalam (Wörsdörfer, 2008, 192). Predstavljale so si predvsem mesto Trst, kot južno postojanko razširjenega nemškega imperija, ki bi se raztezal od Severnega do Jadranskega morja. V tem načrtu bi Trst predstavljal končno postajo tako imenovanega nemškega mostu do Jadrana, kot so te nemške tendence poimenovali njihovi nasprotniki (»Brücke zur Adria«). Verein Südmark, ki je leta 1896 ustanovila svojo tržaško sekcijo in katere člani so bili predvsem novi prišleki v mesto, je jasno trdila, da Nemci naj »ne bi gledali Jadrana le iz koroških višav« (cit. v Judson, 2006, 105).¹⁵ Četudi to ni mogla biti nemška državna politika, se nemške nacionalistične organizacije temu načrtu niso odpovedale in nasprotniki so njihovo dejavnost uporabili kot »strašilo« pred nemškim »Drang nach Adria«.¹⁶

Poleg Slovencev, ki so se pogosto samoprikazovali kot zadnji branik pred »nemškim prodorom« na Jadran, so to nedvomno bili Čehi, ki so Nemce in nemškost večkrat percipirali kot oviro pri uveljavljanju lastnih narodnih interesov, bodisi v političnem, kulturnem ali gospodarskem smislu. Ta spopad se je odigral tudi na bregovih Adrije. Tudi za Čehe je namreč ena glavnih referenčnih točk za ekspanzijo lastnega gospodarstva proti jugu postal Trst. Češki kapital se je preko njega širil v svet in zato je bilo mesto še kako pomembno središče za rast čeških poslov. V tem obdobju se je v Trstu razvila precejšnja mreža bančnih zavodov, saj so bila pričakovanja, da se bodo posli prek tržaškega pristanišča po odprtju sueškega prekopa leta 1869 povečali, velika (Panjek, 2004; prim. Lo Giudice, 1979). S tem v zvezi je

Bernard Michel izpostavil vlogo Jaroslava Preissa, intelektualca, novinarja in nato enega najpomembnejših čeških bankirjev, ki je na neoslavističnem kongresu v Pragi leta 1908 podčrtal vlogo Trsta kot »ene izmed dominantnih postojank slovanskega kapitala v boju proti nemškemu prodiranju« (Michel, 1976, 75).

Cislajtansko slovansko meščanstvo, v prvi vrsti češko, je svojo dinamičnost na gospodarskem področju izkazovalo in podkrepilo z rastočim vplivom v lokalnem družbenem tkivu. V Trstu so med drugim ustanovili svoje društvo, Česká beseda, in znotraj tega je leta 1910 nastal celo Český Yacht-Klub, prvo slovansko društvo take vrste v mestu. Český Yacht-Klub je izdajal tudi svoj časopis, ki se je imenoval Hlas Adrie. Tako je ustanovitev prvega »slovanskega« pomorskega društva, kljub kratkotrajnosti poskusa, nedvomno imela močan simbolični naboj in predstavlja tudi konkretno, skorajda »fizično« apropiacijo Jadranskega morja.

Češke zahteve so temeljile zlasti na gospodarskem izkoriščanju jadranskega prostora s strani finančnih subjektov, kot so bile banke, zavarovalnice in druga podjetja, v katerih je izstopal »nacionalni kapital«. V tem duhu je treba razumeti članek, ki ga je tržaška Edinost povzela po češkem časopisu iz Zagreba Český list z naslovom *K morju!*, v katerem je avtor opozarjal češke trgovce, gospodarstvenike, podjetnike in poslovneže na pomembnost češke prisotnosti ob Jadranu in še posebno v Trstu: »Trst, za katerega se bore danes Slovani z Italijo in kamor gravitira tudi nemška ekspanzija, mora biti za Češko izhodišče k morju. (...) Za bodočnost je gotovo le Jadransko morje edino ugodno izhodišče za naše blago na Balkan. V temelj bodočim gospodarskim zvezam z Balkanom mora postati red v tem vulkaničnem kotu Evrope« (Edinost, 8. 11. 1911, 1).

Tudi češki publicist Čenek Slepanek je na primer v praškem tedniku Přehled pod naslovom *Adrija in češka politika* v zvezi s češko gospodarsko prisotnostjo ob Jadranu načel več vprašanj gospodarskega in političnega značaja. Ta bi morala po njegovem mnenju dobiti bolj organizirano podlago, zato je češko politiko pozval, naj opusti »vseslovanske sanjarije« in naj »končno napiše na svoj ščit besedo, ki pomenja bodočnost: Adrija!« (Edinost, 12. 4. 1914, 1). Ni jasno, kako je Slepanek nameraval doseči bregove Jadrana brez vseslovanske povezave, a na njegove pozive se je odzval Odon Pára, češki inženir v Trstu, zaposlen pri Južni železnici in tajnik društva Češka beseda. Strinjal se je s pomembnostjo vloge, ki sta jo imela Trst in jadranski prostor za češke

14 »To see the sea for the first time! How many of our fellow-countrymen, hermetically sealed into the hard frame of mountains, and sat inside that frame from their births to their deaths, have never been granted this joy. The idea of something infinitely broad and unfathomable, a conception of eternity itself, floated through our minds. The sea! The sea!« (citirano v Bracewell, 2009, 163).

15 O tržaški nemški skupnosti pred prvo svetovno vojno glej Dorsi, 2001.

16 Med najbolj povednimi primeri je slovensko-češka spomenica, ki sta jo v času prve svetovne vojne objavila politična veljaka Anton Korošec in František Staněk, v kateri sta se postavila proti »germanizaciji in nemški invaziji na jadransko morje« (Slovenski narod, 8. 5. 1918, 1).

interese, vendar je bilo po njegovem mnenju potrebno, da Čehi in Slovenci medsebojno uskladijo svojo politiko. Zapisal je, da je germanizacija Slovencev, ki je vidna zlasti na Koroškem in Štajerskem, usmerjena tudi proti Čehom, ker bi jim bila ob morebitnem nemškem uspehu zaprta pot do Trsta.¹⁷

JADRANSKO VPRAŠANJE MED PRVO SVETOVNO VOJNO IN PO NJEJ

Pariranje nemški širitvi je bila ena glavnih skrbi češke jadranske politike, a je bila skupna mnogim evropskim državam. Zato gre tudi v tem smislu interpretirati Londonski pakt, s katerim je maja 1915 Italija vstopila v prvo svetovno vojno na strani Antante. Velika Britanija, Francija in carska Rusija so namreč s podpisom sporazuma z Italijo zagotovile kontrolo nad Jadranom in onemogočili sovražnemu taboru, predvsem Nemčiji, morebitno širitev proti jugu. Po eni strani je sporazum prispeval k odločitvi Italije, da se pridruži antantnim silam, po drugi pa je odprl nove dinamike glede jadranskega vprašanja.

Če so po eni strani slovenske, hrvaške in druge južnoslovanske politične elite v marsičem kritizirale habsburško politiko, je po drugi strani marsikateri slovenski, a tudi hrvaški politični predstavnik nejevoljno gledal na možnost teritorialne priključitve Italiji. Kljub temu da med posameznimi strankami in frakcijami ni bilo enotnega gledanja na to vprašanje, so postopoma, v vojnih letih, vedno bolj samozavestno zahtevali oblikovanje samostojne jugoslovanske države, kar je seveda jadranskemu vprašanju dajalo čisto drugo dimenzijo. Po drugi strani pa je italijanska zunanja politika, ki jo je vodil Sidney Sonnino, bila vse do konca vojne usmerjena proti združitvi jugoslovanskih narodov. Sonnino si je prizadeval za poraz in zmanjšanje habsburške monarhije, vendar si nikakor ni želel njenega razpada. Italiji je nameraval zagotoviti monopolni položaj v jadranskem prostoru, zato je v bodoči jugoslovanski državi videl možnega konkurenta. Nekateri drugi italijanski politiki so bili za konkretno sodelovanje z bodočo jugoslovansko državo, čeprav bi to pomenilo delno omejitev italijanskih zahtev na vzhodni obali Jadrana. Socialistični politik Leonida Bissolati, zgodovinar in urednik socialističnega dnevnika *L'Unità* Gaetano Salvemini, politik in publicist Umberto Zanotti Bianco, novinar milanskega dnevnika *Il Corriere della Sera* Giovanni Amendola in direktor istega časopisa Luigi Albertini so vsak s svojega zornega kota zagovarjali pozitiven pristop do jugoslovanskih predlogov, četudi bi to pomenilo odpovedati se nekaterim predelom Dalmacije.

Podobno so razmišljali tudi nekateri drugi evropski

politiki, kot npr. Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, ki se je postopoma uveljavil kot eden pomembnejših podpornikov razpada habsburške monarhije in posledične uresničitve ideje o češkoslovaški državi (poleg Jugoslavije). Tudi Masaryk je delal v prid italijansko-jugoslovanskega zavezništva, in to predvsem v funkciji preprečevanja nemškega »Drang nach Südosten«. V spomenici, ki jo je pripravil za britansko vlado na začetku vojne in je nato dobila ime *Independent Bohemia*, je med drugim ocenjeval, da je premoč na Jadranu odvisna od močne in številne mornarice, ne pa od »revne in gole« obale, kot je označil Dalmacijo. Italija bi po njegovih pogledih morala dobiti Trst, Pulj in Valono (Vloro) in skupaj z južnimi ter severnimi Slovani tvoriti obrambno črto proti nemški širitvi. Kajti »pot iz Berlina pelje ne samo prek Carigrada, ampak tudi prek Trsta in Benetk«, je trdil.¹⁸ A Sonninoova nezaupljiva politika do osamosvojitvenih načrtov slovanskih narodov habsburške monarhije je obveljala vse do mirovne konference po vojni (Lederer, 1966; Valiani, 1966; Caccamo, 2000).

Jadransko vprašanje, kot je dobil ime spor med Italijo in južnimi Slovani (po vojni z novonastalo Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev) za kontrolo nad vzhodno jadransko obalo, je že pred in med vojno spodbudilo nastajanje številčne publicistične produkcije. Že od leta 1915 so italijanski pisci z geografskimi, političnimi, kulturnimi, gospodarskimi, vojaškimi, zgodovinskimi in »civilizacijskimi« argumenti pripravljali moralno bazo za uveljavitev Londonskega pakta, ki je Italiji, poleg južne Tirolske in drugih avstrijskih ozemelj v notranjosti, zagotavljal tudi Trst, Istro, nekatere otoke v Kvarneru in predele Dalmacije ter Grčije. Med najzgodnejšimi so bili spisi Oscarja Randija, Attilia Tamara, Giuseppeja Iverardija in Gellia Cassija, ki je za moto svoje knjige izbral D'Annunzijevo verz iz pesmi *La Nave*: »Signor nostro, redimi l'Adriatico! Libera alle tue genti l'Adriatico! Patria ai Veneti tutto l'Adriatico!« (Cassi, 1915; Randi, 1914; Tamaro, 1915a; 1915b; Iverardi, 1915). Produkcija podobnih besedil se je po vojni, v času pariške mirovne konference, ko se antantne sile niso mogle poenotiti glede tega vprašanja, samo še stopnjevala. Novinarji in politiki, predvsem pa geografi, zgodovinarji, ekonomisti in drugi strokovnjaki, so postali oblikovalci prisvajalnih diskurzov in glasniki nacionalističnih zahtev. V povojni italijanski družbi, kot v drugih evropskih državah pogostokrat prežeti z izostrenimi nacionalnimi čustvi, so tovrstne prakse našle plodna tla.

Tako so pamfleti in spisi postali temelj za prepričevanje mednarodnih političnih elit in širše javnosti o pravilnosti in pravičnosti lastnih zahtev. Podobni teksti so nastajali na obeh straneh: Jovan Cvijić, srbski strokovnjak za geografijo in predsednik komisije za terito-

17 Več o tem v Klabjan, 2007.

18 Postavke iz Masarykove knjige *Independent Bohemia* sem črpal iz Galandauer (1988, 271–272).

rialna vprašanja na pariški mirovni konferenci si je prizadeval, na podlagi strokovnih del, dokazati geografsko povezanost jugoslovanskih narodov (Cvijić, 1918; prim. Baskar, 2002, 55–58). V nasprotju z italijansko publicistiko, ki je izpostavljala »civilizacijsko« povezanost, »kulturno« neločljivost in komplementarnost desnega in levega brega Jadranskega morja,¹⁹ vojaško-strateške in politične razloge, je jugoslovanska stran, poleg geografskih argumentov, uporabljala predvsem podatke o nacionalni sestavi prebivalstva, ki je bilo na spornem območju Julijske krajine v večini slovansko. Zato so »Jugoslovani« italijanske zahteve imeli za imperialistične in so italijanski strani oporekali, da ne spoštuje načel pravične delitve po nacionalnih kriterijih, kot je izpostavljala publikacija *Manifestations Yougoslaves contre L'imperialisme Italien* (Manifestations, 1919) ali članki v jugoslovanskem časopisu, ki je izhajal v italijanščini: L'Adriatico Jugoslavo (L'Adriatico Jugoslavo, 29. 3. 1919, 1). Ta princip je ameriški predsednik Woodrow Wilson, glavni lik na pariški mirovni konferenci in za marsikoga »rešitelj« nacionalnih nasprotij v Evropi, razglasil v svojih štirinajstih točkah amerškemu kongresu januarja 1918.²⁰ Tako je jugoslovanska stran verjela, da so, četudi so nekatera mesta na vzhodni jadranski obali imela italijansko večino, vsekakor spadala v kontekst teritorija, ki je bil večinoma slovanski. Trdili so, da so bila »italijanska mesta kot otoki v slovanskem morju«.²¹

Jadranski spor, ki ga je medtem še zaostрила okupacija Reke pesnika D'Annunzia in njegovih legionarjev ter užaljeni odhod italijanske delegacije s pariške mirovne konference, sta Italija in novoustanovljena Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev uspeli rešiti šele 12. novembra 1920 s sklenitvijo Rapalske pogodbe.²² Podpis sporazuma je bistveno pripomogel k normalizaciji odnosov med sosednjima državama in prispeval k bolj umirjenemu mednarodnemu političnemu stanju, saj, kot je v tridesetih letih zapisal zagrebški univerzitetni profesor Grga Novak, je Jugoslavija z Rapalsko pogodbo »dobila svoje more« (Novak, 1932, 282). Kljub temu se je zaradi vzdušja o »pohabljeni zmagi«, ki je prevladalo v Italiji, in občutku politično-diplomatskega poraza v Jugoslaviji ter percepciji, da jim je bila storjena krivica, zlasti med Slovenci in Hrvati, zaradi »izgube« Trsta, Primorske, Istre in nato, leta 1924 še Reke, pisanje o »izgubljenem morju« nadaljevalo in se v nekaterih aspektih nedvomno še bolj zaostri. Nekateri so priključitev Primorske Italiji primerjali s francosko izgubo Alzacije in Lorene po francosko-pruski vojni leta 1871 (Naša Alzacija-Lorena, 1920). Če so v predvojnih letih nemalokrat

našli prostor tudi načrti o medsebojnem sodelovanju, tudi med Italijani in »Avstrijskimi Jugoslovani«, kot je pisal slovenski odvetnik in publicist Karl Slanc v svojem delu *Avstrijski Jugoslovani in morje*, zlasti v smislu zoperstavljanja nemškemu prodiranju, so zaradi medsebojnih zamer in zaradi politične nemoči ter posledične »neprisotnosti« tretjega – to je Nemčije –, te interakcije postajale težavnejše (Slanc, 1912).

Zato so bili petdeset let kasneje še vedno zelo aktualni pesimistični verzi Jenkove pesmi *Morje Adrijsko*. V Jadranci, »glasilu zavednega ženstva«, ki je izhajalo v Trstu pred ukinitvijo slovenskega in hrvaškega tiska s strani italijanskih oblasti, je ob obletnici požiga slovenskega Narodnega doma v Trstu anonimno pero Jenkovo pesnitev priredilo takratnim politično-nacionalnim potrebam. Po priključitvi severnega Jadrana Italiji in poudarjanju rimskosti teritorija, v smislu ideološke legitimacije italijanske aneksije, so v pesnitvi zavrnjene trditve »Neronovih potomcev« in poudarjena slovanska prvobitnost: »Kar je naše bilo, naše bodi, b'li smo prvi ob Jadranski vodi!« (Jadranka, 7. 7. 1921, 6–7). Kasneje je tudi slovenska učiteljica in publicistka Marija Grošljeva v publikaciji *Mladi stražarji*, ki je izhajala v Jugoslaviji v tridesetih letih, podobno, nanašajoč se na Jenkovo *Morje Adrijsko*, pisala o »ugrabljenih plenih« reke Soče in Jadranskega morja. Vendar so tudi italijanski pesniki, kot so bili Dante, Ariosto in Mazzini, v rokah slovenskih in hrvaških publicistov postali sredstvo za omejevanje italijanskih zahtev po vzhodnem Jadranu, ker so v svojih delih, v različnih oblikah, pisali o »slovanskosti« vzhodnega Jadrana (Dom in svet, 3–6, 1919, 175–176). Tudi ena prvih iger slovenskega pesnika in pisatelja Toneta Seliškarja je bila namenjena »krivični izgubi« bivšega Avstrijskega Primorja (Trst z okolico), Istre in Dalmacije. Igra iz leta 1920 z naslovom *Morje plaka* se začne s sledečim prizorom:

»Stene odra so prevlečene z narodnimi zastavami. Na sredi stoji precej visok steber na katerem je slika Jadranskega morja (Dalmatinske obali). Steber je prevlečen s črnim ovojem. Pod ovojem pa je steber ovit z bršljanom in z rožami. Pred stebrom kleči Slovenija (starka), na levi strani soji jetnik, poleg njega Dalmacija. Pred starko Istra, poleg nje pa Gorica.« (Seliškar, 1920).

Hagen Schulze piše, kako so po francoskih šolah, po porazu v francosko-pruski vojni leta 1871 in posledični francoski »izgubi« Alzacije in Lorene, ob zemljevidih teh dveh pokrajin viseli žalni črni trakovi, da bi v družbi vzdrževali občutek krivde in emotivne povezanosti z »izgubljenim« delom »narodnega telesa« (Schulze, 2003, 232). Čeprav ni znano (in še ni raziskano), v

19 Med drugim glej zemljevid, ki je vključen v publikacijo *Italicus Senator* (1916).

20 O slovenskih upih v ameriškega predsednika Wilsona in kasnejšem razočaranju glej Lipušček, 2003.

21 Med številnimi publikacijami, ki so bile namenjene prepričevanju italijanske javnosti o »jugoslovanskosti« vzhodnega Jadrana, glej Il litorale (1919).

22 O D'Annunzijevej avanturi v sklopu jadranskega vprašanja glej nekoliko zastarelo, a še vedno zelo pregledno Alatri (1959).

kolikšni meri je v italijansko-jugoslovanskem sporu (v tem primeru zlasti Slovencev in Hrvatov, predvsem tistih, ki so se morali izseliti čez mejo v Jugoslavijo ali emigrirati v tuje države) prihajalo do podobnih mehanizmov, je nedvomno res, da so medsebojne rekriminacije zaznamovale bregove Jadrana. Jadransko morje je tako, poleg italijanskega, tudi v slovenskem in hrvaškem pojmovanju postalo vse eno s kopnim, z izgubljenimi mesti in teritoriji, ki jih je anektirala Italija. Zato Zdravko Ziljan v članku, naslovljenem Jugoslovansko-italijanski spor, zatrjuje, da vzhodna obala Jadrana pripada samo Jugoslovanom in Balkan samo Balkancem. Dokler Italija tega ne bo razumela, »se valovi Jadrana ne bodo umirili«.²³

SEVERNOJADRANSKI IN SREDNJEVROPSKI PROSTOR PO PRVI SVETOVNI VOJNI

In res je Jadran, z obdobji »plime« in »oseke« ostal valovit čez celo obdobje 20-ih in 30-ih let 20. stoletja. Za to pa nista bili odgovorni samo Italija in Jugoslavija, temveč vse države, ki so se zavzemale za njegovo eksploatacijo. Zgoraj analizirana publicistika je namreč dokaz, da apropiacijski diskurzi in pretenzije, ki so se razvile v obdobju po prvi svetovni vojni, ko so na pogorišču habsburške monarhije nastale nove države, niso bile sad novonastale državnosti, temveč so slonele na že ustaljenih zahtevah. Poleg Italije in Kraljevine SHS (kasneje Jugoslavije) so tu še Avstrija, Češkoslovaška, Madžarska, Poljska: vse te države so po vojni, kljub fizični odrezanosti iz jadranskega prostora, imele svojo jadransko politiko, ker so bile ekonomsko, politično in kulturno vezane na ta prostor.

Avstrija je bila prav gotovo tista država, ki je zaradi svoje večstoletne vključenosti severnojadranskega prostora v svoj državni okvir imela nedvomno najtesnejše stike, predvsem gospodarske, in ideja o kaki ponovni obliki spojitve ali povezave med poveljno Avstrijo in Jadranskim morjem ni propadla niti po drugi svetovni vojni, ko so prišli na dan načrti o ustanovitvi neke tamponske cone med Italijo in Jugoslavijo, ki bi vključevala tudi Avstrijo (Stuhlpfarrer, 1998, 254–255). A nič manj niso bile soudeležene druge države srednjeevropskega prostora, predvsem Češkoslovaška. Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, njen prvi predsednik in njegov zunanji minister Edvard Beneš, sta imela vprašanje češkoslovaškega dostopa do jadranskega morja za enega od vitalnih problemov novoustanovljene države. Češkoslovaška, ki je leta 1918, v zadnjih mesecih vojne in po njej, v Trstu lahko računala na svoj Pomorski odbor (Československý námořní výbor v Terstu), je opozarjala, da bi si edino z zajamčenim in neoviranim dostopom do morja vse dr-

žave srednjeevropskega zaledja, še posebno Češkoslovaška, ki ni imela neposrednega izhoda na morje, zagotovile primeren in dolgotrajen razvoj. Odbor je zagovarjal rešitev, ki bi mestu zagotavljala mednarodno kontrolo in imela cilj, da bi se v Hamburgu, na Reki in v Trstu ustanovila svobodna pristanišča. Češkoslovaški odbor je še predlagal, da bi češkoslovaški državljani kot občani bivše Avstro-Ogrske ohranili določene pravice pri izkoriščanju Jadranskega morja. Mišljene so bile pravice obalne plovbe, ribolova in ustanavljanja podjetij, zlasti takih, ki so bila vezana na morje, kot na primer zdravilišča in kopališča, pri katerih so bili Čehi številčno in kapitalsko precej soudeleženi, in takih, ki so potrebovala morje zaradi primarnih surovin, kot so bile na primer soline. Čeprav češkoslovaška delegacija na pariški mirovni konferenci s temi predlogi ni popolnoma prodrla in je od sredine 20-ih let 20. stoletja dalje svoje gospodarske uvozne-izvozne posle usmerila predvsem v severno morje, je Jadran igral pomembno vlogo »varnostnega ventila« (Klabjan, 2007, 223–253).

Tudi madžarske povezave so imele svoje korenine globoko v 19. stoletju, saj je pri delitvi monarhije na dve polovici Ogrska dobila Reko (do konca prve svetovne vojne) in severni del dalmatinske obale. Tako si je lahko kot Avstrija izdelala svoj pomorski profil (Zucconi, 2008, 24). Že leta 1846 je kasnejši vodja madžarske revolucije Lajos Kossuth opozarjal na pomembnost morja za madžarske nacionalne interese, po ogrski priključitvi mesta pa je reško pristanišče postalo v viziji madžarske politične in gospodarske elite pomemben člen nove politike uveljavljanja lastnih interesov (Volpi, 2003; Fried, 2005, 27). Spodbujali so njegov razvoj in podobno, kot so avstrijske oblasti leta 1857 z železniško povezavo, tako imenovano Südbahn, spojile Dunaj s Trstom, tako so ogrske oblasti leta 1873 povezale Budimpešto z Reko prek linije MAV/Magyar Államvasutak (Zucconi, 2008, 10). Svojo uvožno-izvožno dejavnost je Reka izvajala prek avstro-ogrškega Lloydja, ki se mu je leta 1882 pridružila še druga, izključno ogrska pomorska družba Adria Magyar Tengerhajózási Társaság, ki je svoje posle uspešno razvijala s pristanišči v zahodnem Sredozemlju. V naslednjih letih so nastale še druge podobne družbe, ki so se uveljavile predvsem z lokalnimi povezavami vzdolž jadranske obale, kot je bila npr. družba Ungaro-Croata (Sondhaus, 1994, 188). Tako je tudi Reka, s pomembno podporo centralnih oblasti, predstavljala dinamično in hitro se razvijajoče središče ob Jadranu. Kot vozlišče pomorskih povezav in kopenskih komunikacij je namreč mesto imelo zelo pomembno trgovsko in širšo povezovalno vlogo med svojimi zaledji in drugimi, vse bolj tudi transkontinentalnimi gospodarskimi prostori. Zato je center favoriziral

23 Brošura je v propagandne namene izšla v češčini, saj je bila namenjena češkoslovaški javnosti (Jihoslovansko-italská otázka, 1919, 10).

in spodbujal gospodarske politike, ki so težile k razvoju tega okolja in predvsem njenega pristanišča. Od teh gospodarskih dinamik in politik so bili odvisni tudi demografska rast, družbeni sestav in etnična struktura ter kulturna podoba Reke, kar pa je veljalo tudi za druga pristaniška mesta, za katera sta značilna tudi poudarjena religiozna raznolikost prebivalstva in kozmopolitski duh.²⁴ Z nastopom in razvojem industrializacije v 19. in 20. stoletju so se spremenila težišča gospodarske geografije in s tem tudi vse hitrejša urbanizacije. S tem so pristaniška mesta nekoliko izgubila prejšnjo osrednjo vlogo v evropski urbanizaciji, vendar so ohranila in še povečala svojo povezovalno vlogo med velikimi gospodarskimi regijami in nacionalnimi prostori.²⁵

Poraz Avstro-Ogrske in Trianonska pogodba med Antanto in Madžarsko je tudi v tem smislu, podobno kot Saintgermainška za Avstrijo, imela pomembne posledice. Mirovni pogodbi, ki so jih zavezniške države sklenile s poraženkama, še zdaleč nista rešili težav. Na eni strani je bil Avstriji, s členom 311 Saintgermainške pogodbe, in Madžarski, s členom 294 Trianonske pogodbe, zagotovljen prost dostop do Jadranskega morja, na drugi strani pa sta bili, prva po členu 322 Saintgermainške pogodbe in druga po členu 306 Trianonske pogodbe, dolžni dovoliti Češkoslovaški dostop do jadranskih pristanišč. V teh členih je bilo še določeno, da morajo nove države glede na rivalstvo med pristanišči na Jadranu in ob Črnem morju ter severnonemškimi pristanišči na lastnih železniških progah obdržati tarife, ki so veljale že pred vojno. Med najbolj perečimi poglavji o določitvi habsburške dediščine je bilo torej vprašanje železniških povezav, saj je bila vsa oskrba, na kateri je v marsičem temeljila eksistenca novonastalih držav, odvisna od prehodnosti prog in razpoložljivosti lokomotiv ter vagonov. American Relief Administration, organizacija, ki ji je načeloval bodoči ameriški predsednik Herbert Hoover, je v letih po prvi svetovni vojni, večinoma v obdobju 1919–1923, pošiljala v Evropo velike količine blaga, živil in zdravil, brez katerih bi si območja, prizadeta od vojne, težko opomogla. Pri dobavljanju materiala so bile bistvenega pomena železniške povezave, ki so, kot prikazuje grafika v publikaciji iz tistega obdobja *Trieste und Fiume im Weltverkehre*, tudi v medvojnem obdobju spajala pristanišča na severovzhodnem Jadranu (Trst in Reka) z Budimpešto, Dunajem, Prago, Krakovom, Lvovom in drugimi srednjeevropskimi središči (Trieste und Fiume, 1930, 33).

Za Poljake je bil jadranski prostor morda res drugotnega pomena, a zmotno bi bilo misliti, da se zanj niso zanimali. Po ponovni ustanovitvi lastne države leta

1918 so pozornost usmerili skoraj izključno v razvoj lastnih obmorskih središč ob Baltskem morju in predvsem njihovih pristanišč, kot je bila Gdynia. S tem v zvezi je povojni vsakdanji politični diskurz skorajda izključno napolnil problem koridorja in razvoj Poljske kot polnopravne sile ob Baltiku. Zato je v knjižici, ki jo je napisal Tadeusz Lubaczewski in je leta 1930 izšla v hrvaščini z naslovom Poljska i more, zaključeno, da se »Rzeczpospolita [Poljska] nikada ne će odreći ni pedlja poljske zemlje« (Lubaczewski, 1930, 16).²⁶ Kljub usmerjenosti proti Baltskemu morju se kot ostale srednjeevropske države Poljaki niso odpovedali svojim interesom na Jadranu. O tem jasno govori publikacija, ki jo je napisal poljski konzul v Trstu Wladimir Kwiatkowski in jo najprej objavil v poljščini, nato pa še v italijanščini. S svojim pisanjem je želel spodbuditi gospodarsko izmenjavo in blagovni tranzit prek tržaškega pristanišča, saj je to predstavljalo pomembno izhodišče za poljsko gospodarsko sodelovanje z Levantom (misleč na Grčijo in njene otoke, Egipt z Aleksandrijo in Port Saidom, Sirijo in Palestino ter Malo Azijo s pomembnim komercialnim centrom Izmirjem) in Daljnim Vzhodom (Kitajska, Japonska in sibirski obala s pristaniščem v Vladivostoku). Pomembno je bilo tudi gospodarsko sodelovanje s samim Trstom, ki se je po konzulovih besedah lahko naslanjalo na plodno sodelovanje iz habsburških časov, ko sta Trst in Galicija, po vojni del Poljske, spadala v isti, cislajtanski del cesarstva (Kwiatkowski, 1924, 16–21).

SKLEP

V tako omejenem prispevku ni bilo mogoče, in tudi ni bil njegov namen, prikazati celovite in izčrpne slike o imperialnih in predvsem nacionalnih kontrastih v Jadranskem morju, temveč nuditi nekaj izhodiščnih razmišljanj za spodbujanje študij o Jadranskem morju in njegovo vključitev v širšo obravnavo evropske preteklosti. Pokazalo se je namreč, da jadranski prostor ne tvorijo le subjekti (naj si bodo državni ali nacionalni) ob obalah Jadranskega morja. Če Mediteran nima jasnih začrtanih meja, kot trdi Predrag Matvejević, je tako razumevanje prostora mogoče uporabiti tudi v jadranskem primeru (Matvejević, 2000). Meje Jadrana so odvisne od percepcije teritorialnih povezav, predvsem v smislu večletne skupne dediščine v večnacionalnih imperijah, kot so bili Habsburško cesarstvo, Osmanski imperij ali Beneška republika. Zato so se mehanizmi apropiacije Jadrana razširili ne samo ob njegovih bregovih, ampak v njegovem širšem zaledju, ki ga Baud in Van Schendel

24 Za poglobitev v diskusijo o konceptu kozmopolitizma v sredozemskih pristaniških mestih glej Driessen, 2005.

25 Za primerjalno analizo razvoja jadranskih pristaniških mest z zahodnoevropskimi glej zbornik Lawton, Lee, 2002.

26 Lubaczewski je svoj spis zaključil z reko, ki je v Jugoslaviji postal del vsakdanjega besedišča v času po drugi svetovni vojni: »Tude nećemo, svoje ne damo!«.

imenujeta *outer borderland* oziroma »zunanje mejno ozemlje«, v katerega so vključeni tisti teritoriji, ki so »affected by the existence of the border in the same way that land protected by an embankment is affected by the sea« (Baud, Van Schendel, 1997, 222).

V tem smislu, čeprav Jadransko morje, kot vsako drugo morje ali reko, asociiramo s koncepti fluidnosti, je bilo mogoče ugotoviti, da v zahtevah nacionalističnih posameznikov ali organizacij, držav ali drugih državnih subjektov, Jadransko morje ni bilo fluidno, temveč kompaktno in oprijemljivo.²⁷ Razpadanje večnacionalnih imperijev, izgradnja nacij (ki je v italijanskem primeru

sovpadala z gradnjo imperija) in iredentistične zahteve novih nacionalnih držav z imperialnimi ambicijami je okvir, v katerem deluje apropiacija jadranskega prostora. Tako so nacionalne države (v primeru večnacionalnih imperijev so to bili posamezni nacionalisti in nacionalistične skupine) od druge polovice 19. stoletja dalje politizirale mejna območja, naj si bodo to ozemlja ali morja, v smislu pridobivanja in prilaščanja teh prostorov s ciljem njihove nacionalizacije in popolne podrejenosti večnacionalne (ali anacionalne) periferije nacionalno homogenemu centru.²⁸

»THE ADRIATIC IS OURS«. NATIONAL APPROPRIATION OF THE ADRIATIC SEA BEFORE AND AFTER WORLD WAR I

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SUMMARY

After the downfall of Venice (which had monopolised the area of the Adriatic for several centuries) and the expansion of the Habsburg Monarchy towards the south into the Balkans, the Adriatic Sea became an internal sea of the Triple Alliance concluded in 1882 by three newly-formed national subjects: Italy and Germany between 1860 and 1871 and Austria-Hungary which implemented its dualistic structure in 1867. But despite the fact that Berlin, Rome and Vienna reached a mutual agreement regarding the control of the Adriatic (e.g. it was under military control of the Austro-Hungarian navy) it would be a mistake to think that this equilibrium was static.

The rise of the national idea in particular was the reason for the increasingly open »nationalisation of the sea« emerging in the second half of the 19th century. Thus, in the same manner as the inland, the Adriatic Sea was also affected by the age of nations and nationalism and by conflicting conceptions, with the aim of making it Mare Nostrum. In view of the Venetian hegemony it is not surprising that Fernand Braudel saw the Adriatic coastal regions as the »sphere of a triumphant Italian culture«. Italian nationalist rhetoric has many times referred to the exclusiveness of the centuries-long Italian culture and civilization and relegated the »Other« into a subordinate position.

The main aim of this analysis is to highlight the legitimating mechanisms of the »Other«. They did not appear suddenly in the middle of the 20th century, for example after World War II, but have their origin and mental foundation in the »national« 19th century. This is not only the case of the states directly bordering the Adriatic, but also of those »indirectly bordering« the Adriatic Sea. This is particularly the case during the period after World War I when, on the ruins of the Habsburg Monarchy, new states were formed with their corresponding Adriatic policies. Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland – all these states were economically, politically and culturally bound to the Adriatic. However, the pretensions of these states were based on the already established demands and were not the product of their newly-formed statehood. Thus, on the basis of the highlighted cases it can be understood how the mechanisms of the appropriation of the Adriatic were expanded not only along its shores, but also within a broader Central European area.

Key words: Adriatic, Adriatic Sea, nationalism, Adriatic question, international relations

27 O fluidnosti in kompaktnosti Jadrana glej Cocco, 2007.

28 O poskusu konceptualizacije anacionalnosti glej Zahra, 2010.

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PRIMORSKI SLOVENCİ V MARIBORU 1918–1941

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IZVLEČEK

Po letu 1918 je velik del avtohtonih nemških prebivalcev zapustil Maribor. V mesto so prišli novi priseljenci, največ s Primorske. Prav Primorci so, kot ekonomski, narodnostni in politični emigranti z delovanjem na pevske, prosvetne, socialne in narodno-obrambne področje, dali družbenemu in kulturnemu dogajanju v Mariboru med obema vojnama najpomembnejši pečat. Posamezniki so s svojim delovanjem ob domačinih odločilno prispevali k slovenski podobi mesta, hkrati pa so krepili narodno zavest Mariborčanov, saj so bili v glavnem močno jugoslovansko orientirani. Primorski emigranti so bili organizirani v društvu Jadran in Nanos.

Ključne besede: Primorski Slovenci, Primorci v Mariboru, Jadran, Nanos

SLOVENI DEL LITORALE IMMIGRATI A MARIBOR 1918–1941

SINTESI

Dopo il 1918 gran parte dei tedeschi autoctoni abbandonarono Maribor. La città vide stabilirsi nuovi immigrati provenienti in gran parte dal Litorale sloveno. Sono stati proprio quest'ultimi, in qualità di immigrati economici, nazionali e politici, con la loro partecipazione nelle attività sul campo corale, culturale, sociale e di difesa nazionale, a dare a Maribor l'impronta più significativa. Alcuni con la loro attività svolta tra la gente locale contribuivano largamente a scalfire l'immagine slovena della città rafforzando allo stesso tempo la coscienza nazionale degli abitanti di Maribor, essendo generalmente fortemente caratterizzati da un orientamento jugoslavo. Gli immigrati del Litorale sloveno si riunivano nei circoli Jadran e Nanos.

Parole chiave: Sloveni del Litorale, Sloveni del Litorale immigrati a Maribor, Jadran, Nanos

UVOD

Prva svetovna vojna je pomenila pravo prelomnico tudi za prebivalstvo Slovenskega primorja in Istre. Italijanska vojaška zasedba ob koncu vojne, izhajajoča iz tajne Londonske pogodbe iz leta 1915, in Rapalska pogodba iz leta 1920 sta ta ozemlja priključili k Italiji, ki je novopridobljeno vzhodno provinco poimenovala Venezia Giulia (Julijska krajina). Nova državna oblast in ureditev sta prinesli prebivalcem Julijske krajine silovite spremembe, ki so vplivale na politično, kulturno, gospodarsko in družbeno življenje.

V letih vojaške okupacije so bile politične razmere zelo zaostrene. Poleg okupacijskega režima, ki je kratil osnovne pravice slovenskemu in hrvaškemu prebivalstvu, je napetost ustvarjalo še dolgotrajno in neučinkovito reševanje mejnih vprašanj, ki je še posebej poglobilo nasprotja med italijansko in slovensko ter hrvaško narodno komponento (Ferenc et al., 1974, 37).

Ostremu režimu na vseh področjih življenja se je z vzponom fašizma pridružila še raznarodovalna politika, ki je bila uperjena proti manjšinam. Številni zakoni so prebivalstvu Primorske in Istre vse bolj oteževali že tako težko življenje. Ljudje so težke razmere reševali na več načinov. Eden od njih je bilo izseljevanje. Večinoma so odhajali v Zahodno Evropo, Južno Ameriko (Argentino) in seveda v Kraljevino SHS oz. kasneje v Kraljevino Jugoslavijo. Po nepreverjenih ocenah primorskih in istrskih emigrantskih organizacij naj bi se med svetovnima vojnama izselilo iz Julijske krajine nad sto tisoč Slovencev in Hrvatov. Od tega se je okoli 70% izseljencev usmerilo v Jugoslavijo, kjer so se Primorci naselili zlasti v Sloveniji (Kalc, 2002, 41).

V Maribor je sicer primorska emigracija začela prihajati že pred prvo svetovno vojno. V glavnem iz gospodarskih razlogov. Po končani prvi svetovni vojni pa je dobila emigracija iz Slovenskega primorja in Istre poleg gospodarskih motivov predvsem nacionalni in politični značaj.

Prvi val Primorcev je v Maribor prišel že kmalu po koncu prve svetovne vojne. Mlade Primorce je v ta del Slovenije pripeljala želja, da se vključijo v enote, ki so se pod poveljstvom generala Rudolfa Maistra bojevale za severno mejo. Tako je sredi novembra 1918 nastal Tržaški bataljon, ki je štel 535 moških in 38 častnikov (Potočnik, 2008, 75).

Prvi val emigracije po prvi svetovni vojni se je osredotočil na mesta: Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje, Kranj. V Mariboru so Primorci v precejšnji meri nadomestili mariborske Nemce, ki so se po letu 1918 izselili (Vovko, 1978, 450).

V Maribor oz. sploh v severovzhodno Slovenijo so emigranti prihajali zaradi ugodnih pogojev življenja in zaposlovanja. Zaposlovali so se predvsem v državnih službah (policijski in mestni uradniki, obrtniki, trgovci).

Med temi prvimi emigranti je bilo tudi veliko intelektualcev (odvetnikov, zdravnikov), ki jih je Maribor še kako potreboval.

Do konca dvajsetih let je moč ugotoviti, da so v severovzhodni del Slovenije prihajali Primorci zlasti iz političnih razlogov. Še posebej leta 1923 je v mesto prišlo veliko primorskih učiteljev.

Sploh bi lahko ugotovili, da primorski emigranti, ki so prišli v dvajsetih letih 20. stoletja v Maribor, niso le zapolnjevali prostih delovnih mest, ampak so s svojo trdno slovensko zavestjo in tudi jugoslovansko politično usmeritvijo močno vplivali na družbeno dogajanje v mestu.

V tridesetih letih je bilo možnosti zaposlovanja v mestu manj. Močno pa se je v industriji Maribora poznala tudi svetovna gospodarska kriza. Tako je bilo Primorcem, ki so prihajali v tem obdobju, precej težje pridobiti zaposlitev in jugoslovansko državljanstvo. Še posebej po letu 1935, ko je Italija vojaško zasedla Etiopijo, je pribežalo veliko mladih Primorcev, ki so se tako želeli izogniti služenju vojske (Grašič, 1990, 24).

MARIBOR PRED PRVO SVETOVNO VOJNO
IN PO LETU 1918

Maribor je bil pred prvo svetovno vojno povsem nemško mesto. To nam dokazujejo tudi statistike. O gospodarski šibkosti Slovencev v mestu pred prvo svetovno vojno govori podatek, da je le 10% slovensko govorečega prebivalstva plačevalo davke na nepremičnine in dohodek. Le 160 od 1280 hišnih posestnikov v mestu je bilo slovenskih. Pri gospodarskem sodišču je bilo registriranih 13 slovenskih trgovskih podjetij in kar 192 nemških. Industrija je bila vsa v nemških rokah (Pirchegger, 1919, 16–18).

Kot posledica nemške gospodarske moči in ponemčevanja v mestu ni bilo niti ene javne ljudske šole s slovenskim učnim jezikom, le nižji razredi na gimnaziji so imeli vzporednice z delnim slovenskim učnim jezikom. V mestu je bila nemščina uradni, pa tudi pogovorni jezik. (Slovenski Branik, 1. 11. 1912, 2).

Intenzivno ponemčevanje je izvajal državni aparat s šolstvom, vojsko, sodstvom, z organizacijami Deutscher Schulverein, Südmark in Heimstatt. Politični in gospodarski pritisk Nemcev, zlasti na slovenske doseljence v mesto, se je kazal ob štetju prebivalstva. Nemška statistika je namesto kriterija narodnosti uporabljala kriterij pogovornega jezika. Leta 1910 so ugotovili, da živi v Mariboru le 14% slovensko govorečih prebivalcev, čeprav je več kot polovica predvojnega mariborskega prebivalstva bila slovenskega rodu. Nemški nacionalizem je odrekal Slovincem pravico do slovenskega jezika.

Nemški pritisk je vplival na zaostrovanje narodnostnih bojov, spodbudil pa je tudi politično in kulturno delovanje mariborskih Slovencev. Kljub majhni gospodarski moči je bil za štajerske Slovence Maribor pomembno

kulturno središče. Že od leta 1861 je v mestu delovala Slovanska čitalnica, znotraj katere pa so kmalu zasnovali slovensko gledališče, glasbeno dejavnost in knjižnico s čitalnico (PAM, SČM, PSČ, šk. 2).

Toda politična ločitev Slovencev na katoliški, liberalni in socialistični tabor je potegnila za seboj ločitev tudi na kulturnem področju. Tako je dobila čitalnica liberalni značaj. Slovenski delavci so delovali v Bralnem in pevskega društva Maribor. Katoliški tabor je organiziral svoja izobraževalna, pevska, telovadna in druga društva. Pomembna kulturna, narodno-obrambna in krščansko-socialna organizacija je bila Slovenska krščansko-socialna zveza za Štajersko. Njena osrednja knjižnica je presegala Südmarkino nemško knjižnico v mestu. Z ustanavljanjem prosvetnih društev na podeželju pa je pomembno posegla tudi na slovensko podeželje. Na področju izdajanja in razširjanja knjig ter podpiranja domoljubnih časopisov je imelo pomembno vlogo Katoliško tiskovno društvo, ki si je leta 1891 pridobilo tudi tiskarno.

Liberalno opredeljeni meščani so v letih 1868–1872 izdajali Slovenski narod, katoliško usmerjeni pa Slovenski gospodar. Zgrajen je bil Narodni dom, gospodarsko in kulturno zavetišče štajerskih Slovencev in sedež številnih društev. Leta 1903 je bilo ustanovljeno znanstveno Zgodovinsko društvo za Slovensko Štajersko, ki je izdajalo ČZN (Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje) in zasnovalo svojo znanstveno knjižnico in muzej (Potočnik, 2003).

Slovenci v Mariboru so z organiziranim kulturno-prosvetnim, znanstvenim in narodno-obrambnim delom pred letom 1914, kljub politični razcepljenosti, spremenili mesto v kulturno središče štajerskih Slovencev.

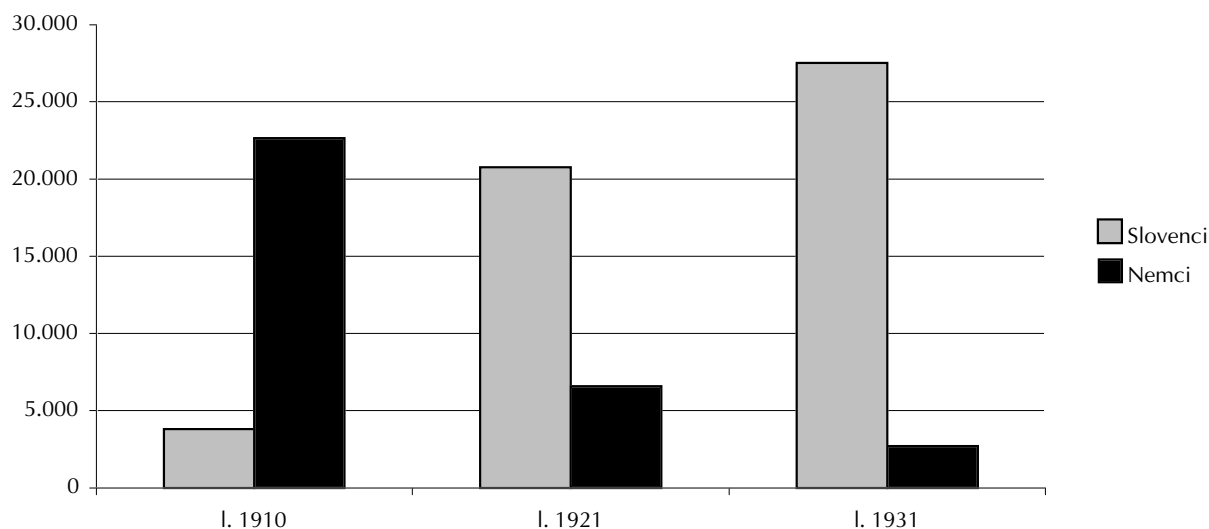
Moč podravskega slovenstva se je pokazala ob razsulu Avstrije leta 1918, ko sta general Rudolf Maister in

Narodni svet za Štajersko na čelu s Karlom Verstovškom, v pravem trenutku in s potrebno odločnostjo ustvarila pogoje za priključitev Maribora k Državi Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov, ki se je združila 1. decembra istega leta s Kraljevino Srbijo in Črno goro v Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev. Narodni svet za Slovensko Štajersko, ki je imel sedež v Mariboru, je tako prevzel oblast na svojem območju. Slovenski Maribor je v zgodovinskem trenutku odločil svojo usodo sam, iz svoje moči brez Ljubljane, z lastnim vojaštvom, uradništvom, političnim vodstvom in tudi denarjem.

Obmejni Maribor je v novi državi Kraljevini SHS izgubil svoj prejšnji gospodarsko-prometni položaj. Spremenila se je narodnostna struktura prebivalstva. Upošteval se je kriterij maternega jezika, tako da je bilo v mestu 73% Slovencev in le 22% Nemcev (Popis stanovništva, 1924).

Po popisu leta 1931, ko so poleg maternega jezika upoštevali še narodnost, je v mestu živel 81% Slovencev in le 8% Nemcev. Se pravi, da je v desetletju od 1921 do 1931 število Nemcev znova upadlo, in to predvsem zaradi izseljevanja (Dravska banovina, 1939).

Če upoštevamo predvojne razmere, je razumljivo, da je slovenizacija mesta po letu 1918 potekala postopno. Slovenska občinska uprava je izdala več zakonskih predpisov, s katerimi so bile odpravljene ponemčevalne organizacije. Izločila je ključne nemške institucije, kot sta bili Südmark in Schulverein. Kljub temu so mesto še vedno pretresala slovensko-nemška nasprotja. Nemci se z zlomom monarhije niso sprijaznili in niso sprejeli zgodovinskega dejstva nastanka jugoslovanske države. Kulturni razvoj Slovencev je omogočala šele slovenizacija šolstva. Aprila 1919 so šole zakonsko prevzeli slovenski učitelji (Bračič, 1991, 596–598).



Graf 1: Primerjava števila prebivalcev Maribora v letih 1910, 1921 in 1931.

Graph 2: Comparison of the population of Maribor in 1910, 1921 and 1931.

Toda, čeprav je večinsko prebivalstvo bilo v mestu slovensko, je imela nemška manjšina še naprej trden gospodarski položaj. Pred okupacijo leta 1941 jih je bilo od 45 industrijskih podjetij v mestu 19 v nemški lasti. V Mariboru je bilo v nemški lasti 41% stanovanjskih in drugih poslopij. Posledice so se kazale na področju kulture. Nemci so s pomočjo kapitala razvijali svojo kulturo. Proti prevladi nemškega kapitala so si močno prizadevali mestna občina in razna društva, tako Češki klub, ki je želel privabiti češke podjetnike in gospodarsko zmanjšati nemški vpliv v mestu.

Na kulturno dogajanje v mestu so gotovo vplivale tudi politične razmere. Mariborsko meščanstvo je bilo med obema vojnama politično neenotno, razcepljeno na klerikalni in liberalni tabor. Delavstvo, ki je bilo ob prevratu še precej ponemčeno, se je odkrito zavzemalo za priključitev Maribora k Avstriji (Perovšek, 1997, 20–21).

Politične spremembe po letu 1918 so spremenile sistem mariborskega gospodarstva. Gospodarske vezi mesta s središči nekdanje države so bile prekinjene. Predvojna trgovinska dejavnost je prepustila vodilno mesto industriji. K temu je veliko pripomogla elektrifikacija mesta, lega ob južni železnici in državni meji ter cenena delovna sila. Maribor se je med vojnama razvil v enega najmočnejših centrov tekstilne industrije. Vse bolj se je spreminjal v delavsko mesto. Gospodarska kriza na prelomu v trideseta leta je vplivala na miselnost delavstva. Ekonomska kriza in širjenje nacistične demagogije sta povzročila, da se je delavstvo orientiralo še bolj levičarsko-revolucionarno. Ob tem pa so različne kulturne dejavnosti prispevale h kulturnemu oblikovanju delavstva v mestu (Baš, 1989, 274).

V mestu se je spremenila tudi družbena struktura prebivalstva, saj se je predvsem nemško uradništvo izselilo. Število tega izseljenega prebivalstva ni točno ugotovljeno, vendar znaša po povprečni cenzitvi okoli pet do šest tisoč ljudi. Namesto njih se je naselilo v Mariboru in okolici približno dva tisoč slovenskih uradnikov, podjetnikov in drugih s svojimi družinami, tako da so približno izenačili število izseljenih Nemcev. Tako je v Mariboru prosilo za jugoslovansko državljanstvo 1224 ljudi z družinami, kar je približno pet tisoč ljudi, pozneje je zaprosilo za jugoslovansko državljanstvo še okoli 250 do 300 priseljencev. Največ prosilcev je bilo iz Goriške, Trsta, Istre in Koroške. Ljudsko štetje leta 1921 je seveda pokazalo popolnoma drugačno narodnostno sliko v mestu, kot je bila po zadnjem štetju v Avstro-Ogrski leta 1910 (Kramberger, 1933, 101–102).

Največ mestnega prebivalstva v mestu so predstavljali priseljenci iz širše okolice mesta, nato priseljenci iz ostalih krajev novonastale države in na tretjem mestu

najdemo priseljence iz Primorja. Iz statistike mariborske mestne občine leta 1934 je razvidno, da je v občini živel 3871 oseb, ki so bili rojeni v Primorju in v ostalih krajih Italije (Golouh, 1935, 160).

Mariborskemu (slovenskemu) meščanstvu je po letu 1918 manjkala tradicija, ki jo je bilo treba šele ustvariti. Ljudi za kulturno delovanje je bilo treba šele vzgojiti. Primanjkovalo pa ni le domačega kapitala, ampak tudi izobražencev. Mesto se je znašlo pred izjemno težko nalogo. V iskanju nove identitete je Maribor že kmalu zmogel zapolniti vrzel, ki je nastala v našem kulturnem snovanju ob politični, gospodarski in kulturni tragiki, ki je doletela Gorico in Celovec.

V mesto so prišli novi priseljenci, največ iz Primorske, deloma Koroške in Kranjske, pa tudi iz drugih pokrajin nove države. Prav Primorci so, kot ekonomski, narodnostni in politični emigranti z delovanjem na kulturnem, prosvetnem, socialnem in narodno-obrambnem področju, dali družbenemu in kulturnemu dogajanju v Mariboru med obema vojnama izjemen pečat.

DELOVANJE PRIMORSKIH EMIGRANTOV V MARIBORU NA KULTURNEM PODROČJU

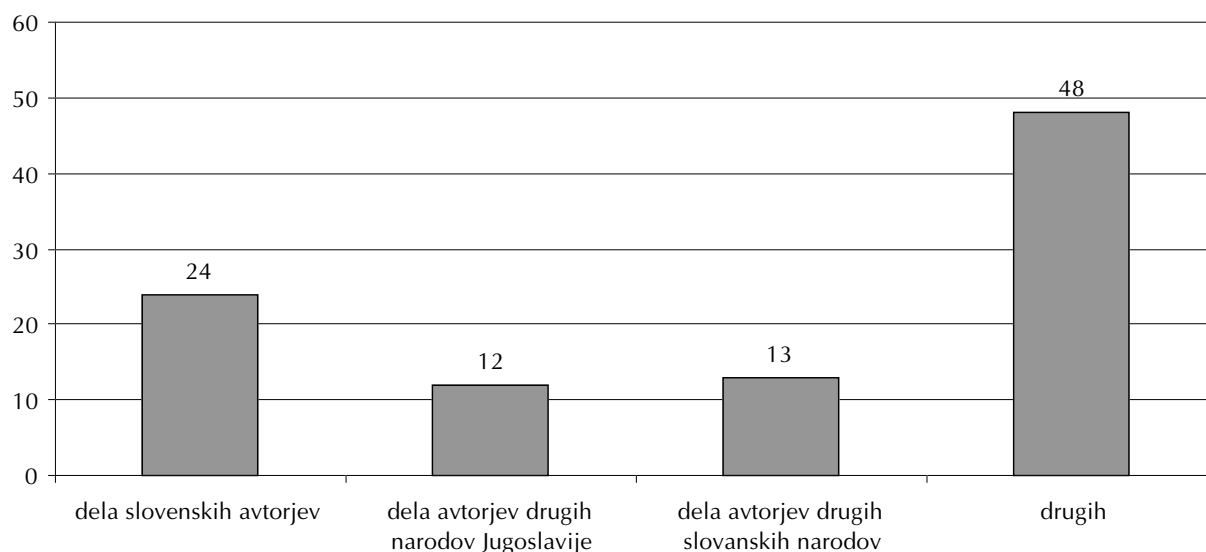
Prispevek Primorcev na področju kulturnega delovanja v Mariboru je neprecenljiv. S svojo ustvarjalnostjo in domiselnostjo so dali neizbrisen pečat prav na vseh področjih kulturnega delovanja. Najbolj viden prispevek Primorcev je pri oblikovanju slovenskega gledališča v Mariboru. S svojim delovanjem pa so močno razgibali tudi družbeno in družabno življenje v mestu.

Primorci in Narodno gledališče v Mariboru

Že v prvi sezoni delovanja Slovenskega narodnega gledališča v Mariboru je uspelo ravnatelju Hinku Nučiču angažirati nekaj takrat vidnejših slovenskih igralcev, tako med drugim tudi primorska igralca Vala Bratina in Elviro Kralj. Tudi v drugi sezoni je ravnatelju uspelo povečati ansambel z nekdanjimi tržaškimi igralci.

Po Nučičevem odhodu v Zagreb je postal upravnik mariborskega gledališča Valo Bratina.¹ V spominih na mariborsko gledališče je kasnejši upravnik Radovan Brenčič o tem zapisal: »Po vseh božjih in človeških postavah je bil za to mesto mnogo bolj poklican Milan Skrbinšek. Toda med kolegi ni bil najbolj priljubljen; mnoge je odbijal zaradi svojega nepopustljivega in nemirnega duha, tako da je večina zahtevala, naj ansambel glasuje, kdo mu bo poslej ravnatelj: Skrbinšek ali Bratina. In velika večina se je odločila za Bratino! No, da Skrbinšek le ne bi bil prehudo prizadet, ga je Bratina postavil za ravnatelja Drame« (Brenčič, 1967, 380).

1 Valo Bratina je umetniško usmerjal mariborsko gledališče in ga povezoval z najmodernejšo svetovno in domačo dramatikom, zato ga predstavljam podrobneje.



Graf 2: Dramska dela, uprizorjena v sezonah 1921/22–1925/26, ko je Dramo vodil Valo Bratina (Repertoar slovenskih gledališč, 383–392).

Graph 2: The plays staged in the seasons 1921/22–1925/26, when Drama was headed by Valo Bratina (Repertoar slovenskih gledališč, 383–392).

Valo Bratina si je zastavil visoke umetnostne cilje, a jih zaradi različnih razlogov ni mogel uresničiti. Uspelo mu je povrniti zaupanje občinstva, kar je bilo še kako potrebno. Močan poudarek v repertoarju je namenil sodobnim slovenskim avtorjem, med njimi Stanku Majcnu, Alojziju Remcu, Ivanu Cankarju, Francetu Bevku in Franu Ksaverju Mešku (Hartman, 1968, 181–215).

Iz sočasnega svetovnega repertoarja je uvedel tudi več ekspresionističnih del. Moderniziral je oblikovanje prizorišča s svetlobo in odrskimi elementi. Za Bratinovo obdobje je značilno, da je v duhu časa gledališče igralo hrvaška in srbska dela v izvirnem jeziku. Imel je velike načrte glede opernega repertoarja. Angažiral je vrsto novih pevcev in 28. aprila 1922 predstavil mariborski publiki prvo pomembnejšo slovansko opero *Prodano nevesto* Bedřicha Smetane. S tem je napovedal skorajšnje rojstvo stalne mariborske opere, ki je nato delovala šest sezon, do leta 1928, ko je žal zaradi finančnih težav formalno prenehala delovati. Pa tudi sicer se je zaradi nizke subvencije finančna kriza gledališča nadaljevala tudi v času vodenja novega ravnatelja (PAM, MOM, SR, UGSHS, šk. 486). Ob koncu sezone 1925/26 so mariborski kulturni in javni delavci izrekli ravnatelju Drame Valu Bratini nezaupnico zaradi prepogostih odrskih eksperimentov (Jutro, 21. 7. 1926, 7).

V obdobju, ko je Dramo vodil Valo Bratina, lahko ugotovimo prizadevanja, da bi se kar najbolj uveljavila domača drama. Tako sta bili v Mariboru v primerjavi z Ljubljano uprizorjeni Majcnova igra *Dediči* velikega časa (1922) in Bevkova drama *Kajn* (1924). Valo Bratina pa je uprizoril tudi kar štiri dramska dela Alojzija Remca. Tako je luč odra leta 1922 zagledala Remčeva

drama *Kirka*, leta 1923 *Užitkarji*, leta 1924 *Magda* in leta 1925 *Zakleti grad*. Prej kakor v petih letih je bilo tako na sporedu istega gledališča pet zaporednih predstav istega domačega avtorja (leta 1921 je že Hinko Nučič uprizoril *Učiteljico Pavlo*). Srečna usoda za avtorja in za gledališče, usoda, ki je ni bil deležen ne Cankar ne kdor koli pri nas (Moravec, 1965, 200–201).

Tržačanka Elvira Kraljeva, dobitnica najvišjega priznanja za gledališke stvaritve, Boršnikovega prstana, je v mariborskem gledališču igrala celotno medvojno obdobje. (Jevnikar, 1982, 172).

Ob petnajstletnici njenega delovanja je poročevalec v Mariborskem »Večerniku« *Jutra* (MVJ) zapisal: »Na poklicnem odru je pokazala že takoj močan talent, vendar pa takrat, ob začetku slovenskega gledališča v Mariboru in ob njenih prvih nastopih še nihče ni slutil da bo postala steber naše drame /.../ Tekom zadnjih let, ko je zrastle do zrelega ustvarjanja, gledamo na njeno delo vedno z višjega stališča /.../ Dokaz, da je zares po vsem svojem bistvu igralka dobrih kvalit, ki pojmuje svoje poslanstvo resno in mu posveča vse svoje najplemenitejše sile« (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 4. 10. 1934, 3). Skupaj z Bratino sta nešteto krat stala na odrskih deskah in razveseljevala občinstvo. Namišljeni bolnik, Dnevi našega življenja, tragedija *Užitkarji*, komedija *Težke ribe*, drama *Kralj na Betajnovi*, komedija *Vdova Rošinka*, tragedija *Hamlet*, drama *Beneški trgovec* in mnoge druge (Tabor, 20. 10. 1922, 3; 14. 11. 1922, 3; 6. 1. 1923, 5; 23. 3. 1923, 3; 3. 10. 1923, 3; 11. 2. 1925, 2; 27. 1. 1926, 3).

Mariborskemu gledališču so poleg Bratine in Kraljeve posvečali vso svojo skrb skozi celotno medvojno ob-

dobje še številni drugi primorski igralci: Miro Kopač (1922–1923), Silvester Škerl (1921–1922, 1924–1925), Slava Mezgečeva, ki je nastopala tudi v operi kot odlična sopranistka (1920–1923), Nada Gabrijelčičeva (1923–1925), Ema Starčeva (1925–1941), Mileva Zakrajškova (od 1926), Rado Nakrst (od 1929), Just Košuta (1934–1941), Rade Pregarc (1927–1929), Danilo Turk (1937–1941). V mariborski opereti in operi pa so prepevali Mario Štimenc (od 1920), Ciril Bratuž (od 1925), Pavla Udovičeva (1928–1936), Štefanija Fratikova (od 1930), Elza Barbičeva (1930–1938), Belizar Sancin (od 1931–1938) (Hartman, 1996).

V drugi sezoni (1920/21) delovanja Slovenskega narodnega gledališča v Mariboru je uspelo ravnatelju Hinku Nučiču angažirati tudi tržaške pevce. K sodelovanju pa je povabil tudi skladatelja Viktorja Parma. Ta znameniti slovenski skladatelj Primorec Viktor Parma je bil tudi eden prvih honorarnih dirigentov mariborskih opernih in operetnih predstav (Jevnikar, 1985, 580).

Že 30. novembra 1920 je bila uprizorjena njegova opereta Caričine Amazonke. Delo je doživelo v razdobju od prve uprizoritve do začetka druge svetovne vojne kar štiri različne premierne uprizoritve. Operni in operetni skladatelj Viktor Parma je imel mnogo zaslug pri razvoju glasbenogledališke dejavnosti v mariborskem gledališču. Parma je v Mariboru kot častni kapelnik dobil možnost dirigiranja svojih del. V štirih letih so z uspehom izvedli vse njegove opere in tri operete. Kot prvo je mariborsko gledališče 30. novembra 1920 uprizorilo njegovo opereto Caričine Amazonke. V isti sezoni sta bili na sporedu tudi Parmovi operni enodejanki Ksenija in Stara pesem. To sta bili prvi izvedbi slovenskega opernega dela na odru mariborskega gledališča. Še pred Parmovima operama pa so uprizorili češko opero Viléma Blodeka V vodnjaku kot prvo opero na mariborskem odru. Ob 65-letnici rojstva in 40-letnici kompozicijskega delovanja komponista Viktorja Parme je bila v marcu 1923 uprizorjena druga Parmova opera Urh, grof Celjski. 28. novembra 1922 so pod Parmovo taktirko uprizorili še opereto Nečak. Med pomembnimi glasbenimi predstavami v dvajsetih letih sta bili še Parmova opera Zlatorog in njegovo zadnje dokončano delo Apolonov hram, ki ga je skladatelj sam dirigiral.

Veliko Primorcev se je ljubiteljsko ukvarjalo tudi z lutkarstvom. V Sokolskem lutkovnem gledališču v Narodnem domu je kot vodja deloval Ivan (Ivo) Lavrenčič (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 4. 2. 1931, 3).

Primorci v Glasbeni matici

Leta 1919 je prišel v Maribor skladatelj Oskar Dev,² ki se je ljubiteljsko ukvarjal s skladateljevanjem in zborovodstvom. Že kmalu so se pod njegovim vodstvom začeli zbirati pevci. O teh začetkih je Oskar Dev zapisal: »Ko sem prišel konec marca 1919 v Maribor, je bilo tu polno pevcev iz vseh krajev Slovenije in Primorja, toda nobene organizirane pevske družine, o kaki glasbeni šoli ni da bi govoril. »Na moj kratki apel v »Delavcu« se je začetkom maja 1919 zbralo k prvi pevski skušnji v mali dvorani Narodnega doma toliko pevcev, da je zmanjkalo not. Pevske vaje so se vršile vsak dan.« (Kajč, 1959, 3–4).

Še pred ustanovitvijo Glasbene matice je Oskar Dev sestavil moški pevski zbor, ki se je javnosti prvič predstavil 25. maja 1919 ob prevozu posmrtnih ostankov Petra Zrinjskega in Krsta Frankopana z Dunaja v Zagreb.³ Mariborčani so udeležencem pripravili slavnostni sprejem. Zbor pa je zapel žalostinki Vigred in Gozdič je že zelen.

Zbor je tedaj štel 114 moških glasov in ti pevci so se po tem nastopu začeli redno dobivati na pevskih vajah. Tako so postavili temelje Glasbeni matici.

Težišče društvenega dela Glasbene matice je slonelo na njenem pevskega zboru. Prvi zborovodja je bil do leta 1922 skladatelj Oskar Dev, ki je še pred ustanovitvijo Glasbene matice organiziral moški pevski zbor, nato pa tudi ženski. Že sredi leta 1921 je slednjega razpustil. O tem piše poročevalec v Taboru sledeče: »Pevovodja Oskar Dev je razpustil ženski zbor, ker so dame posečale marljivejši ples in telovadbo kakor pevske vaje. Tudi moški zbor se je skrčil. Zbor je priredil samo en večji koncert, ker je moral prepogosto sodelovati pri narodnih prireditvah. Odslej bo to odpadlo, ker imamo dve drugi pevski društvi Drava in Jadran, ki bosta razbremenili Matični zbor« (Tabor, 13. 7. 1921, 2).

Leta 1922 je Oskar Dev ustanovil mešani zbor, ki je sčasoma, poleg zbora ljubljanske Glasbene matice, Akademskoga pevskega zbora in zborov društev Ljubljanski zvon in Ivan Cankar, kot zbor mariborske Glasbene matice sodil med najimenojitnejše slovenske pevske zборе. Še isto leto pa je Dev opustil vodstvo zbora ter ustanovil Devov kvartet.

Med začetnimi nastopi pevcev omenimo, da je zbor 11. decembra 1920 pripravil koncert s skladbami skladatelja Antona Foersterja. Tudi v sezoni 1920/21 je

2 Skladatelj, zborovodja in sodni svetnik Oskar Dev (1868–1932). Po poklicu je bil sodni svetnik, uveljavil pa se je kot zborovodja in skladatelj. Leta 1919 je prišel v Maribor in postal upravitelj Theater und Casinoveraina ter Filharmonije. Ko so Filharmonijo razpustili, je pod njegovim vodstvom nastala Glasbena matica. V Matici je organiziral glasbeno šolo in pevski zbor. Pomagal pa je tudi pri ustanovitvi drugih pevskega zborov.

3 Zrinjsko-frankopanska zarota, zarota hrvaških in ogrskih velikašev pod vodstvom Petra Zrinjskega in Krsta Frankopana proti avstrijskem dvoru, ki jo je odkril in zatrl. Oba so leta 1671 obsodili na smrt.

zbor nastopal v mestih in trgih mariborske oblasti, na deželi, na narodnih in državnih prireditvah, v gledališču, v stolni cerkvi. Zbor je v času boja za Koroško šestkrat gostoval ob severni meji in z nastopi pomagal pri utrjevanju narodne zavesti. Glavna naloga zbora je bila torej s pesmijo širiti in oživljati narodno zavest na najbolj ogroženih delih slovenskega etničnega ozemlja. Na prošnjo matice so to poslanstvo pozneje opravljala druga pevska društva, predvsem pevsko društvo Drava. Pevski zbor Glasbene matice pa se je posvetil koncertnemu petju.

Konec dvajsetih let je zbor doživel ustvarjalno krizo, ki pa so jo rešili z novim zborovodjem Vasilijem Mirkom.⁴

Vasilij Mirk se je leta 1928 preselil iz Trsta v Maribor in naslednje leto prevzel vodstvo pevskega zbora pri mariborski Glasbeni matici, na glasbeni šoli je poučeval kompozicijo, harmonijo in glasbeno zgodovino. Deloval je tudi pri ustanovitvi Ipavčeve župe, ki ji je tudi predsedoval. Kot skladatelj je objavil številne zborovske in klavirske skladbe.

Novi zborovodja se je predstavil občinstvu na proslavi ob 100-letnici rojstva Benjamina Ipavca, 3. februarja 1930 pa še v Unionski dvorani. Pod njegovim vodstvom je zbor naštudiral tri koncerte, med njimi tudi znamenito Grečaninovo Liturgio domestico (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 29. 9. 1930, 1). Z novim dirigentom je zbor pripravil tudi svoj prvi cerkveni koncert, nastopili so pri proslavi 80-letnice Tomáša Masaryka.⁵ Pripravili pa so tudi koncert v gledališču, ko so izkupiček namenili za poplavlence v Franciji. Med gostovanji zbora naj omenim še koncert zbora v Društvenem domu na Ptuj (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 5. 4. 1930, 3).

Pod vodstvom dirigenta in skladatelja Vasilija Mirka je leta 1931 odšel zbor na koncertno turnejo po Srbiji in Makedoniji. Koncerti v Skopju, Kumanovem, Leskovcu, Kruševcu, Šabcu in drugod so veliko prispevali k medsebojnemu spoznavanju različnih kultur. V svojem programu so pevci skušali gostiteljem predstaviti skladbe pomembnih slovenskih in tujih skladateljev, v program pa so uvrstili tudi nekaj srbskih narodnih pesmi (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 20. 4. 1931, 2).

Od številnih koncertov zbora velja omeniti 15-letnico Glasbene matice, ki ga je matica proslavila 22. januarja 1934 z Devovim večerom. Tako so se oddolžili zborovodji, ki je ponesel sloves Glasbene matice in Maribora po državi in tujini. Osrednja jubilejna proslava je bila maja istega leta, ko je orkester skupaj s solisti,

med drugimi z Zlato Gjungenac - Gavella, izvedel slovito odo Lira in harfa francoskega skladatelja Camilla Saint Saënsa. Pevski zbor je počastil društveni jubilej z ljudskimi koncerti v mestnem parku, ki so jih ponovili še v Slovenski Bistrici, v Rogatcu in Rogaški Slatini (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 3. 1. 1935, 2). Prireditveni odsek je v jubilejnem letu delovanja zbora skrbel, da je pomlajeni pevski zbor dosegal nove uspehe. V tem letu se je od pevskega zbora poslovil dirigent Vasilij Mirk. Doba njegovega delovanja je označena v Glasbeni matici kot Mirkova doba. Vasilij Mirk je postal častni član Glasbene matice.

Pomembno vlogo pri razvoju zborovskega petja in glasbe v Mariboru sta od Primorcev imela še Ubald Vrabec in Karol Pahor.

Ubald Vrabec je opravljal dolžnosti vodje glasbene šole Glasbene matice v letih 1933–1936. Za primorske emigrante v Mariboru je bil nedvomno najpomembnejši njegov prispevek v pevskem društvu Jadran, ki ga je prevzel leta 1935. Zbor je pod njegovim vodstvom hitro napredoval (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 9. 3. 1936, 3). V obdobju svojega bivanja v Mariboru je Ubald Vrabec tudi komponiral.

Karol Pahor, slovenski skladatelj, se je rodil v Trstu. Služboval je med drugim tudi v Mariboru, kjer je kot glasbeni pedagog največ delal na učiteljski in tudi v šoli Glasbene matice, kjer je poučeval violino. Izjemen je njegov pečat na področju koncertne dejavnosti. Tako je leta 1937 v okviru prvega Umetnostnega tedna prejel prvo nagrado v skupini glasbenikov. Ubald Vrabec je ob tej priliki prejel drugo nagrado.

Primorci in likovno življenje

Spremembe po letu 1918 z nacionalno osvoboditvijo pomenijo odločilen mejnik tudi v razvoju mariborske likovne dejavnosti. Tudi na tem področju so imeli Primorci izjemno pomembno vlogo. Tako je v zvezi z organiziranjem likovnega življenja v mestu posebej pomemben lesorezec, grafik, akvarelist in slikar Viktor Cotič,⁶ ki je v Mariboru ustvarjal od leta 1918 do 1933. Na pobudo Viktorja Cotiča in generala Rudolfa Maistra je bila v kazinskih prostorih 8. decembra 1920 odprta prva razstava likovne umetnosti v Mariboru. Makso Šnuderl je ob otvoritvi zapisal: »Zdi se mi, da pomeni ta razstava tretjo zmago nad useljenim nemštvom v Mariboru: Maistrova zasedba, Nučičevo gledališče, Cotičeva razstava!« (Tabor, 14. 12. 1920, 3).

4 Vasilij Mirk (1884–1962). Leta 1928 se je iz Trsta preselil v Maribor in naslednje leto prevzel vodstvo pevskega zbora pri mariborski Glasbeni matici, na glasbeni šoli je poučeval kompozicijo, harmonijo in glasbeno zgodovino. Deloval je tudi pri ustanovitvi Ipavčeve župe, ki ji je tudi predsedoval. Kot skladatelj je objavil številne zborovske in klavirske skladbe.

5 Tomáš Masaryk (1850–1937) od leta 1918 do leta 1935 je bil predsednik češko-slovaške republike.

6 Viktor Cotič je bil rojen leta 1885 v Trstu in je študiral slikarstvo na Dunajski akademiji. Kot profesor risanja je služboval od leta 1918 do 1933 na mariborski realki.

Dogodek je vzpodbudil ustanovitev Umetniškega kluba Grohar, ki je združeval slovenske likovne umetnike v mestu. Prvi predsednik Umetniškega kluba je bil Viktor Cotič. Leta 1922 se je 12 Groharjevih članov udeležilo velike jugoslovanske razstave ob kraljevi poroki v Beogradu. Razstavljali so: Viktor Cotič, Ivan Janovsky, Ivan Kos, Vilko Apih, Egon Baumgartner, Ivan Hollega, Pipa Peteln, Franjo Stiplovšek, Ante Trstenjak, Avgusta Šantel, Henrika Šantel in Josip Tscharre.

Leta 1926 se je skupaj z drugimi v Mariboru živečimi likovnimi umetniki Viktor Cotič predstavil v kazinski dvorani. V Taboru o dogodku lahko preberemo, da je razstavo slavnostno odprl Makso Šnuderl, ki je v nagovoru poudaril, »da tudi mariborske razstave kažejo razvoj povojne umetnosti; medtem ko smo videli na prejšnjih razstavah v tej dvorani revolucijske zaletе, iskanje nekih novih oblik in zapostavljanje vsebine v prid zunanjemu materialnemu izrazu, se opaža na zadnjih razstavah že ustaljenost in umirjenost. Bile so razstave, ko naše občinstvo ni razumelo umetnikov, na tej razstavi govori zopet čista doživljena lepota. Zato se je nadejati, da bo prinesla nova razstava našim domačim umetnikom mnogo moralnega in gmotnega uspeha« (Tabor, 7. 11. 1926, 3).

Pomembnejša predstavitev večine mariborskih in okoliških slikarjev in kiparjev (tudi Viktorja Cotiča) je bila leta 1931. V Mariborskem Večerniku Jutra so v poročilu o otvoritvi zapisali: »Ta razstava nam dokazuje, da se v skritih zatišjih naših likovnih umetnikov ustvarja marsikaj, kar bo imelo stalno vrednost. Nekaj tega je zbrala ta razstava in postavila pred mariborsko javnost, toda dela bodo na ogled samo do 19. t. m., nato bodo spet romala v ateljeje in stanovanja onih, ki so jih napravili. Malo bo obiskovalcev, ki se bodo še kdaj spomnili nanje. In vendar bi bilo potrebno, da bi tudi bodoči rodovi mogli spoznavati prve začetke slovenske likovne umetnosti v Mariboru. Po njih bi šele mogli presoditi stremiljenje osvobodjene obdravske slovenske prestolnice in razumeti, da je stremela kvišku na vseh koncih in krajih in da se je pravilno zavedala ne le svojega političnega, ampak tudi kulturnega poslanstva...« (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 9. 12. 1931, 2). Naslednje leto je Mestni občinski svet na pobudo mariborskih slikarjev nakupilo sledeče slike: Viktor Cotič: Breg na ribnici, Janez Mežan: Ribniška jezera, Ivan Kos: Lepa jesen, Albert Sirk: Skopje, Ante Trstenjak: Koča v Goricah.

Leta 1920 je iz Trsta v Maribor emigriral slikar Anton Gvajc. V Mariboru se je izkazal predvsem kot likovni organizator in pedagog. Deloval je znotraj Umetniškega kluba Grohar, v katerem je nasledil Cotiča kot predsednika. V Trstu je bil njegov učenec Franjo Stiplovšek, ki je v začetku dvajsetih let ustvarjal v Mariboru.

V likovnem življenju Maribora ima pomembno vlogo tudi Idriččan Niko Pirnat. Med letoma 1921 in 1928 je

sodeloval pri več razstavah. Pirnat pa je tudi avtor številnih umetnin, kot so kip generala Maistra in Ivana Cankarja.

Primorski slikar, ki je ustvarjal v Mariboru, je tudi Albert Sirk iz Sv. Križa pri Trstu. V Maribor je emigriral leta 1929 in tu ostal do leta 1937. Bil je vključen v mariborski likovni klub Brazda in je z njim tudi večkrat razstavljaj. O njegovi razstavi je poročevalec v Mariborskem »Večerniku« zapisal: »iz Sirkovih del odseva neverjetna sigurnost, izražena v krepkih potezah. Predmete riše krepko in sigurno. Morje slika mojstrsko, ker je sam zrasel z njim. V svojih motivih išče žive razgibanosti. Njegovi južni motivi kažejo s pestro barvitostjo na naš solnčni jug« (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 18. 5. 1937, 3).

Na področju likovnega ustvarjanja je Maribor zaznamoval tudi Goričan Zoran Mušič. Radivoj Rehar je v članku v Večerniku o Zoranu Mušiču zapisal: »Zoran Mušič, ki se je rodil leta 1909 v Gorici, je bil eden izmed redkih slovenskih slikarjev iz povojne dobe, ki so pričeli svoje delo tam, kjer so našli izhodišče naši veliki predvojni mojstri, v impresionizmu. In vendar gre njegov razvoj v čisto drugo smer, kakor je šel oni npr. Groharja, Jame, Jakopiča in drugih. Dočim je prišla njihova izhodiščna smer k nam več ali manj šele s posredovanjem nemškega impresionizma in ne naravnost iz Pariza, se je Mušič ogrel za svojo smer neposredno iz Pariza, čeprav skozi Zagreb. Mimo tega je ta njegov impresionizem privzel še nekaj kompozicijskih elementov ekspresionizma. Kompozicija je včasih tako več ali manj ekspresionistična, dočim je pojmovanje barve docela impresionistično. Mušiču je barva zopet glavno, včasih celo vse. V njej išče estetičnih harmonij na čustveni, razpoloženjski podlagi, ne na pripovedovalni. Tako pot si z uspehom izbere lahko samo res močan talent, in Mušič je taka umetniška osebnost« (Večernik, 7. 4. 1940, 4). Mušič se je po končanem učiteljišču v Mariboru vpisal na zagrebško akademijo. Od leta 1935 je bil član Brazde in od leta 1937 tudi član kluba Neodvisnih. Že v času pred II. svetovno vojno je veliko razstavljaj po Jugoslaviji (leta 1937 Beograd, leta 1938 Ljubljana, leta 1939 Beograd, leta 1940 Zagreb, leta 1940 Maribor). Skoraj na vseh razstavah je bil deležen ali največ pohvale ali pa vsaj največ pozornosti. Nagrajen pa je bil na vseh treh mariborskih Umetnostnih tednih.

Marca 1939 se je v Beli unionski dvorani na prvi samostojni razstavi predstavil še Gvajčev učenec in Cotičev nečak Zlatko Zei. Rojen v Trstu leta 1908 je v svojem likovnem delovanju ostal zvest svojim koreninam. V njegovih delih namreč prevladuje tipično primorski likovni svet. Pomembno pa je tudi delovanje Koprčana Klavdija Zornika, slikarja, ki se je nagibal k ekspresionizmu.

Primorci in literarna ustvarjalnost

V Mariboru je med vojnama živel in ustvarjal več pomembnih slovenskih književnikov. Med pomembnimi ustvarjalci sta bila pesnika, primorska emigranta Janko Samec in Ludvik Zorzut. Janko Samec spada med najbolj produktivne pesnike med obema vojnama. Pisal je pesmi za odrasle in mladino in izdal dve samostojni pesniški zbirki: *Življenje*, leta 1923, in *Za naše male*, leta 1927. Motiv morja je njegov najmočnejši in najgloblje doživeti element, ki se mu pridružujejo kmečki in socialni motivi s Krasa. Bolj temačne in zadušne so mestne impresije iz Maribora. Ludvik Zorzut je bil pomemben kulturni in narodni delavec. Pomembna je njegova zbirka pesmi pod naslovom *Ptička bregarica*, kjer spregovorijo pesniške podobe Primorske in Štajerske.

Močno se je uveljavil Vipavec Radivoj Rehar, ki je bil glavni urednik tako Mariborskega delavca kot Tabora in najdlje tudi Mariborskega »Večernika« Jutra. Predvsem v časniku Tabor je moč zaslediti številne Reharjeve članke, ki obravnavajo najrazličnejše teme. Izdal je pravljice *Začarani krogi*. Leta 1936 je začel z izdajanjem literarne revije *Piramida*.

V tridesetih letih se je zlasti uveljavil Koprčan Rudolf Golouh. Uspešni politik, ki je v letih 1931–1935 postal celo podžupan mesta, je bil tudi pomemben pisec dramskih del z izrazito socialno in družbenokritično noto. V času njegovega bivanja v Mariboru je mariborsko gledališče uprizorilo tri njegova dela. V prvih dveh, *Groteskni sedanosti* in *Od zore do mraka*, je kritiziral zlasti fašizem, svetovno diplomacijo in tudi Društvo narodov. Njegovo tretje delo, *Krisalida*, poetično in oblikovno nakazuje prepad med človeškimi sanjami in hrepenenjem ter med življenjsko stvarnostjo (Hartman, 1977, 149).

Med pomembnimi pisatelji, ki so v tem času delovali v Mariboru, je bil tudi Tolminec Ivo Šorli, ki je bil s svojimi deli močno vezan na realizem in naturalizem 19. stoletja. Bil pa je tudi prvi predsednik Kluba književnikov, njegov namestnik je bil Rudolf Golouh, tajnik pa Radivoj Rehar. Vsi trije torej iz Primorske. Leta 1935 so v Mariboru živeči umetniki ustanovili Umetniški klub, ki je združeval poleg književnikov in umetnikov tudi publiciste in gledališke kritike. Njegov predsednik je bil Ivo Šorli. Z ustanovitvijo Umetniškega kluba v Mariboru je nastopilo novo obdobje v kulturnem življenju Maribora. Ustanovitev kluba je namreč razgibala umetnike in jih vzpodbudila k intenzivnemu ustvarjanju. Poročevalec v Jutru je o ustanovitvi Umetniškega kluba menil: »Upati je, da bo Umetniški klub v Mariboru prinesel v našo drugo prestolnico nekakšno renesanso kulturnega življenja, ki naj bo primerno nadomestilo velike predvojne kulturne tvornice v Gorici, Trstu in Celovcu« (Jutro, 6. 4. 1935, 3). Ustanovnega občnega zbora 7. aprila 1935 v hotelu Orel so se ob mariborskih

umetnikih udeležili tudi številni likovni umetniki severovzhodne Slovenije. Zbor je odprl in vodil predsednik pripravljalnega odbora, pisatelj Ivo Šorli. V govoru je poudaril, da so društvo ustanovili z namenom združiti umetnike na področju književnosti, likovne umetnosti, gledališča, glasbe, arhitekture in kritike, ki živijo v Mariboru oz. v severovzhodni Sloveniji. Med nalogami društva je bilo prirejanje slikarskih in kiparskih razstav ter organizacija komornih glasbenih, dramskih, recitacijskih in literarnih prireditev. Skrbeli naj bi tudi za sodelovanje s kulturnimi ustanovami doma in v tujini.

Ivo Šorli je napisal tudi dve prozni deli: *Večerne vezi*, v katerih močno izstopajo avtobiografske prvine, pri čemer so posebno zanimivi drobni opisi psiholoških značilnosti ljudi v prelomnih obdobjih, in knjigo *Moj roman*, kjer gre za literarno obdelan izbor spominov. V letu 1935 je nastala njegova drama *Blodni ognji*, ki je bila v istem letu uprizorjena v Ljubljani, Mariboru in Pragi (Hartman, 1977, 149–150).

Velja še omeniti leposlovni list *Soča*, ki ga je izdajal Klub primorskih dijakov. Prva številka je izšla leta 1922. Izdajala jo je podružnica Udruženja iz Primorja. Poleg leposlovnih tekstov so bila v reviji navedena tudi društvena dogajanja.

DRUŠTVI PRIMORSKIH SLOVENCEV: JADRAN IN NANOS

Čas obstoja primorskih emigrantskih društev v medvojnem Mariboru lahko razdelimo na tri obdobja. Prvo, dvajseta leta 20. stoletja, zaznamuje delovanje emigrantskega Društva Jadran, ki je bilo znano predvsem po svoji uspešni pevski dejavnosti. V drugem obdobju, gre za skoraj celotno tretje desetletje 20. stoletja, se prepleta delovanje Jadrana in novonastalega društva Nanos. Delovanje obeh društev je bilo usmerjeno na različna področja. Zadnje, kratko obdobje, ki ima mejnik v letu 1939, je pomenilo prelomnico za obe društvi, saj je prišlo po njunem večletnem samostojnem delovanju do združitve v skupno društvo Jadran-Nanos.

Vsa tri obdobja so tako za društveno življenje kot za življenje primorskih beguncev velikega pomena.

Društvo Jadran

Pripravljalni odbor društva Jadran je začel delovati v letu 1919, ustanovni občni zbor pa je imelo društvo 11. februarja leta 1920. O Jadranu je poročevalec v Straži ob tej priložnosti zapisal, da so lahko člani društva le izseljenci iz Primorja, da bo društvo skrbelo za razvedrilo in zabavo, pa tudi izobrazbo in »narodno disciplino svojih članov, od njega pa je pričakovati južnemu temperamentu primerno živahnega delovanja« (Straža, 9. 4. 1921, 3).

Kmalu po ustanovitvi je pevski krožek Jadrana z velikim uspehom gojil družabnost med Primorci, na-

stopal pa je tudi na vseh narodnih prireditvah v mestu in okolici (PAM, MOM, SDJ, šk. 385, št. 300).

Sploh je pevski zbor predstavljal jedro delovanja društva in dvajseta leta zaznamujejo Jadran predvsem po njegovi uspešni pevski dejavnosti. O delovanju pevskega društva je več zapisanega v poglavju o glasbenem življenju. V društvu je delovalo več odsekov, med katerimi je bil najbolj aktiven prav glasbeni. Med prireditvami, ki jih je pripravil ta odsek, je bila gotovo najbolj odmevna Jadranska noč. Jadranaši so obiskovalcem želeli približati del kraškega okolja. V ta namen so v galerijskih prostorih Narodnega doma postavili kraško hišo z originalnim ognjiščem ter kletjo, kjer se je prodajal teran, dalmatinska vina, morske ribe in seveda pravi kraški pršut. Izkupiček prireditve je bil namenjen društvenemu delovanju (Tabor, 12. 4. 1925, 2; 13. 5. 1925, 2; 15. 6. 1926, 2).

Društvo je pogosto organiziralo vinske trgateve, ki so bile združene s pevsкими nastopi in plesom. Posebej zanimiva je bila trgatvena veselica, ki so jo Jadranaši priredili oktobra 1936. O njej zasledimo v Mariborskem Večerniku Jutra, da so v nabito polni dvorani pevci najprej zapeli nekaj pesmi, po nastopu zbora pa je sledil nastop novoustanovljenega ženskega odseka. Na prireditvi so se predstavil tudi člani Jadrana v komediji enodejanki Roka Roko (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 16. 10. 1936, 3). Posebej priljubljen je bil Miklavžev večer, ki je bil namenjen najmlajšim. Eno takih miklavževanj je bilo leta 1926, ko so se občinstvu predstavili malčki članov v »sijajno« odigrani igri (Tabor, 11. 11. 1926, 2). Člani Jadrana pa so prirejali tudi Zimske večere. Na njih so nastopili društveni odseki: pevski zbor, tamburaški zbor in godba na lok. Namen takih in podobnih kulturnih večerov je bila predvsem zabava oz. razvedrilo (Tabor, 28. 12. 1923, 3). Pogosti so bili tudi Jadranski zabavni večeri ob godovnem dnevu Joškov oziroma Pepetov in Pepc (Tabor, 16. 3. 1924, 5). V poletnem času je društvo prirejalo v Mariboru in okolici javne veselice na prostem. Izkupiček je bil namenjen revnim članom (Tabor, 3. 8. 1926, 2). Za zabavo pa so poskrbeli tudi na vsakoletnih maškaradah in z novoletnimi praznovanji. Številne razvedrilne prireditve so kazale na pravo prijateljsko vzdušje, ki je vladalo med Primorci. S takimi in podobnimi prireditvami so med Mariborčane prinesli novo obliko družabnega življenja. Tako je bil nedvomno nekaj novega tudi ples na brjarjih (na prostem), ki so ga primorski fantje priredili v Kamnici (Tabor, 25. 4. 1922, 3). Med Mariborčane pa so Primorci prinašali tudi razne primorske običaje in navade. Preko teh so domačini spoznavali tudi že omenjene kulinarične posebnosti primorske kuhinje.

Bolj ko so Mariborčani spoznavali Primorce, bolj so ti postajali nepogrešljivi del mesta. Vse redkejši so bili zapisi v časnikih o zaostrenih odnosih med domačini in prišleki. K temu pa so prispevali tudi Primorci, ki so se vedno bolj vključevali v razna mariborska društva, pred-

vsem v tista, ki so poudarjala idejo jugoslovanstva. Ena od takih organizacij je bilo telovadno društvo Sokol. Sploh pa je jugoslovanska ideja vsaj v prvih letih emigracije združevala večino članstva društva Jadran. Prav zato ni bilo praznika jugoslovanske države, ki ga Jadran ne bi dostojno proslavil. Ob praznovanju osme obletnice nastanka Kraljevine SHS je poročevalec v Taboru med drugim zapisal, da je Jadran spet pripravil imenitno proslavo. Večino programa je izvedel pevski zbor Jadran, nastopu pa je sledil govor Stanka Detele, v katerem je »naglasil pomen našega največjega narodnega praznika, praznika ujedinjenja, ko se je združil dolgo razcepljeni in zatirani narod v svobodno državo« (Tabor, 5. 12. 1926, 1). Društvo pa je praznovalo tudi vse osebne praznike ožjih članov vladajoče rodbine Karađorđevićev.

Jadran pa ni praznoval le slovesnosti, ki so bile povezane z jugoslovansko državnostjo, temveč so člani društva večkrat priložnostno pripravili prireditve ob dogodkih, zaradi katerih so morali njegovi člani zapustiti svoje rodne kraje, ali pa so prireditve namenili spominu na žrtve fašističnega terorja. Tako so člani Jadrana skupaj s člani društva Nanos pripravili prireditev ob obletnici podpisa Rapalske pogodbe. O dogodku je poročevalec v Mariborskem Večerniku Jutra zapisal: »Program je obsegal nastopa društvenih zborov Jadrana in Nanosa ter predavanje urednika in pisatelja Radivoja Reharja o rapalski pogodbi. Po tej manifestaciji za krvno in jezikovno skupnost z našimi brati onkraj meje, so se zborovalci dostojno brez vsakega neumestnega vzklika razšli« (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 13. 11. 1933, 2). Občinstvo je bilo torej še kako presunjeno zaradi dogodkov, ki so sledili Rapalski pogodbi. Jadran pa je vsako leto obhajal tudi požig tržaškega Narodnega doma – žarišča slovenskega naroda v Trstu. Te prireditve so bile podobne drugim spominskim svečanostim. (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 14. 7. 1933, 2).

Člani Jadrana pa so vsako leto praznovali tudi obletnico svojega organiziranega delovanja v Mariboru. Od vseh obletnic je bila gotovo najodmevnejša Jadrana petnajstletnica delovanja, ki je bila združena s kongresom Zveze jugoslovanskih emigrantov iz Julijske krajine. Kraja kongresa niso izbrali slučajno. Vsi kongresi so bili v krajih, kjer je bilo precej emigrantov. Redni kongres »Zveze« je pomenil vrh delovanja te organizacije in je bil njena največja manifestacija. Od vsega njenega delovanja je bil deležen tudi največjega odmeva (Vovko, 1979, 86).

Slavnostna akademija društva ob petnajstletnici delovanja je potekala 1. septembra 1934 v Unionski dvorani. Uvodni nagovor je imel predsednik društva Slavko Fornazarič. Sledile so pevske točke in solistični nastop tenorista Belizarja Sancina ter koncertnega pevca Fraganelija, Elvira Kralj pa je recitala Gradnikovo pesem Molitve beguncev. Slavje pa so kronali z veliko kantato za moški in deški zbor, tenor in bariton solo s klavirjem

in godbo Vasilija Mirka z naslovom Pesem naših mornarjev, ki jo je skladatelj skomponiral posebej za Jadranovo petnajstletnico (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 25. 8. 1934, 2). Ob tej priložnosti je društvo izdalo tudi spomenico, v kateri je zapisana večina kulturnih in drugih dogodkov, ki so zaznamovali 15-letnico društva (PAM, MOM, SDJ, šk. 385, št. 300).

Poleg zabavnih večerov pa je društvo prirejalo tudi poučne večere. Pogosta so bila predavanja na temo zasedenega ozemlja, tako npr.: O jadranskem vprašanju, O sedanjih Primorskih in njenem problemu, Problem malih narodov v igri velikih ipd. Večkrat pa so pripravili tudi literarne večere primorskih pesnikov in pisateljev, npr. Alojza Gradnika in Simona Gregorčiča (Tabor, 24. 11. 1920, 3; 6. 6. 1923, 3; 17. 11. 1923, 2).

V društvu Jadran pa je poleg najbolj dejavnega glasbenega odseka deloval še prosvetni, socialni, narodnoobrambni in emigrantski odsek. Emigrantski odsek so ustanovili leta 1930 z namenom gmotno in materialno pomagati najpotrebnejšim. Pomagali pa so tudi brezposelnim. Še posebej se je na tem področju izkazal odsek, imenovan Pomožna akcija društva Jadran, ki je bil ustanovljen v začetku leta 1932 (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 24. 10. 1932, 2). Že oktobra istega leta je Pomožna akcija društva Jadran razširila svoj delokrog in se preimenovala v Podporni meddruštveni odbor jugoslovanskih emigrantov v Mariboru. V novi odbor so poleg predstavnika Jadrana vstopili še zastopniki društev Jugoslovanska Matica, Narodna Obrana, Koroški klub in Nanos.

Ta in kasnejši Meddruštveni odbor sta ob finančni pomoči Mestne občine pomagala številnim beguncem, tako da so jim nudili hrano, zasilno streho nad glavo, potrebne dokumente ipd.

Zaradi pomanjkanja primernih prostorov ti odseki niso tako zaživel, kot so si želeli člani društva (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 26. 3. 1935, 2).

Število članov društva se je gibalo med dvesto in štiristo. Večinoma pa so ga sestavljali srednji in nižji sloji. Edini vir financiranja jim je bila redna članarina in redke kulturne prireditve, ki pa so se žal neredko končale deficitno, kakor npr. vokalni koncert 8. maja v Unionu (PAM, MOM; DJM, šk. 442, št. 9306). Prav zaradi tega je bila večina zbranega denarja namenjena le beguncem, za kako odmevnejše kulturno delovanje pa ga ni bilo.

Društvo Nanos

V letih najhujše gospodarske krize, v letih, ko je bila stiska prihajajočih Primorcev največja, je Jadran pridobil vnetega sodelavca v novonastali društveni organizaciji priseljenih primorskih emigrantov, društvo Nanos, s katerim se je dopolnjeval zlasti na socialnem področju. Tako je na začetku leta 1932 primorska mladina, ki se je do tedaj zbirala pod okriljem Narodne odbrane, usta-

novila novo društvo primorskih Slovencev, Nanos. Ustavni občni zbor društva je bil 28. februarja 1932 v Narodnem domu. Udeležilo se ga je več kot 400 ljudi, predvsem Primorcev. Predsednik pripravljalnega odbora Albert Koruza je predstavil program in cilje novega društva. Glavne naloge društva so bile: skrb za brezposelne člane, zbiranje primorske mladine v svojem okrilju, oskrba članov s skromnimi zavetišči ter prosvetno in kulturno delovanje (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 3. 3. 1932, 3). Za boljše delovanje društva so že kmalu ustanovili knjižnico (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 16. 3. 1939, 4).

Podobno kot Jadranov kulturno-zabavni program je bil tudi Nanosov zelo raznovrsten. Prirejali so različne prireditve z različnimi nameni in značajem, tako zasledimo dobrodelne, zabavne, informativne idr. Ena prvih društvenih prireditev je bila tako imenovana Akademija Nanosa, na kateri so sodelovali primorski umetniki (Belizar Sancin, Elvira Kralj idr.). Pokrovitelj Akademije pa je bil primorski rojak in takratni podžupan mestne občine Rudolf Golouh (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 5. 3. 1932, 2; 22. 3. 1932, 2). Izkupiček te in tudi drugih podobnih prireditev so namenili za podporni fond brezposelnih Primorcev. Za najbolj obubožane begunce so Nanosovci prirejali pogostitve ob večjih cerkvenih praznikih, tako npr. ob božiču in veliki noči. Da bi se olajšala socialna beda primorskih beguncev, so leta 1937 znotraj društva ustanovili še Gradbeno in zaposlitveno zadrugo, ki si je zadala nalogo, da postavi emigrantski dom, v katerem naj bi se namestila kuhinja, ogrevalnica in prenočišča za begunce. V tem domu naj bi se nastanila vsa emigrantska društva s čitalnico in knjižnico. V ta namen so znotraj Nanosa ustanovili še Ženski krožek. Poleg dobrodelne dejavnosti je Ženski krožek skrbel še za področje primorskega ženstva in materinstva ter kulture. Tako so pripravili večer, posvečen primorski materi. Na programu so bile deklamacije, recitacije, pevske točke društva Jadran in glasbene točke mandolističnega društvenega odseka (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 15. 5. 1935, 3; 18. 5. 1935, 3).

Pogosto pa je Nanos pripravljala tudi predavanja. Tako zasledimo predavanje o Srečku Kosovelu, o socialnem položaju primorskega delavca, Novo poglavje iz boja naše manjšine pod Italijo, O emigrantih, Kulturne prilike v Julijski krajini, o fašizmu in šoli v Julijski krajini (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 1. 3. 1935, 2). Jeseni leta 1935 pa so pripravili ciklus predavanj. Znani predavatelji (Radivoj Rehar, Anton Dolar, Rudolf Golouh, Lojze Bizjak in drugi) so govorili o kralju Aleksandru I., o koroškem plebiscitu, o solidarnosti mladine in jugoslovanski bodočnosti, o delu in ciljih emigrantov, o splošnem mednarodnopolitičnem položaju itd. (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 8. 10. 1935, 3; 18. 10. 1935, 3; 19. 10. 1935, 4).

Društvo Nanos, v katerem se je zbirala predvsem mladina, je bilo precej bolj revolucionarno od sorod-

nega Jadrana. Tako so odobravalı akcije, ki jih je proti italijanski oblasti in njihovi raznarodovalni politiki organizirala v Julijski krajini živeča mladina in drugi zavedni Primorci, ki so delovali v ilegalnih organizacijah, tako npr. v podtalni organizaciji TIGR (tržaška veja se je imenovala Borba). Člani teh ilegalnih skupin so še zlasti proti koncu 20. let začeli s propagandistično akcijo proti režimu in tudi s terorističnim delovanjem. Zaradi protifašistične dejavnosti so bili 6. septembra leta 1930 v Bazovici ustreljeni Zvonimir Miloš, Ferdinand Bidovec, Alojz Valenčič in Fran Marušič, ki so bili obsojeni na prvem tržaškem procesu. Vsako leto so v spomin na bazoviške žrtve v društvu pripravili žalne svečanosti (Grašič, 1990, 32).

Tudi člani Nanosa so seznanjali Mariborčane s sledovi svoje bogate, močno razvejane in z nacionalnim duhom prežete kulture. Tako so na prireditvah ob Mariborskem tednu pripravili razstavo predmetov iz Primorske: narodne noše, razglednice, revije, knjige, časopise itd. (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 2. 8. 1933, 2).

Člani Nanosa so delovali še na področju zborovskega petja, dramskega ustvarjanja ter na tamburaškem in godbenem področju. Člani Nanosa petju niso posvečali toliko pozornosti kot Jadranaši, zato tudi niso dosegali takšnih uspehov kot zbor sorodnega društva. Od leta 1933 je dobro deloval zlasti Nanosov mešani pevski zbor, ki se je leta 1938 preoblikoval v moški zbor (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 22. 6. 1938, 2). Podatkov o delovanju dramskega, godbenega in tamburaškega odseka je le malo.

Društvi sta organizirali tudi skupne prireditve. Tako sta 6. februarja 1937 pripravili Primorski ples. Z izkupičkom so želeli pomagati novemu valu beguncev, ki je prišel v Maribor zaradi italijanskega vojnega pohoda v Abesinijo. Društvi sta priredili tudi več proslav, spominsko svečanost ob obletnici podpisa rapalske pogodbe in več predavanj (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 16. 4. 1934). Pripravili so tudi več izletov v širšo okolico Maribora (Sv. Ožbalt, Sv. Jurij ob Ščavnici, Sv. Marjeta ob Pesnici, Sv. Križ na meji, Sv. Miklavž itd.).

Šele leta 1939 zasledimo v časnikih izjave članov obeh društev o združitvi. Tako je poročevalec v Večerniku med drugim zapisal: »V Mariboru delujeta dve emigrantski društvi Jadran in Nanos. Obe društvi imata v programu iste smernice, obe delujeta in stremita za istim ciljem. Zato so zlasti mlajši člani obeh primorskih društev stremeli za združitvijo. V enem samem močnem in zavednem društvu bo delo olajšano in uspehi večji. Prvotno so starejši člani s skepsco gledali na stremeljenja svojih mlajših tovarišev, sedaj pa so polagoma pričeli uvidevati, da je fuzija Jadrana in Nanosa v eno samo društvo edina pravilna pot« (Večernik, 1. 2. 1939, 4).

Ustanovni občni zbor društva Jadran-Nanos je bil 10. septembra 1939 v Narodnem domu. Po uvodnem govoru, sprejetju novih pravil in volitvah so občni zbor zaključili s kulturnim programom. Združeni pevski zbor

društva Jadran-Nanos je pod vodstvom Ubalda Vrabca zapel nekaj domoljubnih pesmi (Večernik, 24. 8. 1939, 4). Združeno društvo je delovalo po že ustaljenih smernicah, po katerih sta delovali obe društvi pred združitvijo. Združila sta se tudi pevski zbor. Tako je v združenem zboru prepevalo od 60 do 70 pevcev pod vodstvom Ubalda Vrabca (Večernik, 5. 10. 1939, 4).

Združeno društvo je organiziralo več predavanj, tako npr. o razvoju slovenstva in o zaščiti narodnih manjšin (Večernik, 25. 10. 1939, 4; 6. 12. 1939, 4). Nadaljevali pa so tudi z delom že omenjenih odsekov, vendar je zaradi skopih podatkov v časnikih težko analizirati delovanje do vdora okupatorja (Večernik, 26. 10. 1939, 4).

Pevski zbori društev Jadran in Nanos

Primorci so se v Mariboru združevali v treh društvih: Jadran, Nanos in od leta 1939 v združenem društvu Jadran-Nanos. Primorski emigranti so že leta 1920 znotraj društva Jadran ustanovili pevsko društvo, ki je imelo namen s pesmijo prebujati in gojiti narodno zavest Mariborčanov in okoliških prebivalcev (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 5. 3. 1932, 2). V prvih letih so pod okriljem Jadrana delovali trije zbori: mešani, ženski in moški zbor, od katerih je le slednji presegel običajno zborovsko petje in si s tem zaslužil tudi številna priznanja. Ta zbor, ki je začel s svojimi prvimi vajami že sredi leta 1920, so v začetku sestavljali predvsem nižji državni uslužbenci, zlasti policijski stražniki. V prvem obdobju je društvo Jadran prirejalo pevske večere, predavanja in izlete v širšo okolico Maribora, zlasti na severno mejo. Prvič se je zbor predstavil 20. septembra 1920 pri Tomšetu v Pekrah, kjer je vzbudil veliko pozornost med domačini in navdušenje med Primorci (PAM, MOM, SDJ, šk. 385, št. 300). Zbor so v tem obdobju vodili njegovi člani: Ciril Kraševac, Drago Prinčič in drugi (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 22. 3. 1932, 2).

Leta 1923 je prevzel vodstvo zbora takratni uradnik pri okrajnem glavarstvu Jože (Josip) Lah. Kot mnogim drugim Primorcem, ki so s svojo prisotnostjo vtisnili v nemškutarsko obarvani Maribor vidnejši slovenski značaj, je bila tudi Lahu pri srcu kultura, zlasti glasbena. Lah je vodil pevski društva že v Trstu in drugod na Primorskem. Kot dolgoletni zaslužni pevovodja pevskega zbora društva Jadran je bil med vidnejšimi kulturnimi osebnostmi v Mariboru (Kalc, 2002, 43). Pod njegovo taktirko je društvo postalo ne le ponos vseh Primorcev, temveč tudi obmejnega Maribora in njegovega zaledja. Tako je zbor pogosto nastopal v obmejnih krajih, npr. v Šentilju, Kungoti, Sv. Juriju ob Pesnici, Svečini, Sv. Križu nad Mariborom, Kapli, Marenbergu, Apačah in drugje (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 1. 9. 1934, 4). Kljub temu da je društvu primanjkovalo denarja in da ga njeni člani tudi niso imeli, so pevci zbora vedno z veliko požit-

vovalnostjo krili stroške izletov v obmejne kraje kar sami (PAM, MOM, SDJ, šk. 385, št. 300).

Zbor je leta 1935 prevzel Ubald Vrabec. Tako kot prejšnji zborovodja Lah se je tudi Vrabec zavedal svojega nacionalnega poslanstva, ki ga je s pomočjo zbora izražal skozi slovenske pesmi. V zvezi s tem je dejal: »S pesmijo opominjamo našo javnost na naš narodni čut in ponos, ki naj bo odlika zlasti onih, ki živijo ob naših državnih mejah. Naša lepa narodna pesem, ki je čustvena in blagozvočna in iz katere veje slovanski duh, zasluži, da jo nesemo med narod, kjer se je prav za prav rodila.« (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 9. 5. 1937, 2–3). Zbor je štel v času, ko ga je prevzel Vrabec, okrog 40 članov. Pod njegovim vodstvom je zbor še bolj napredoval in bil priznan kot eden najboljših pevskih zborov v Mariboru in okolici. Pevci so nastopali tudi v vseh večjih jugoslovanskih mestih, tako v Beogradu, Skopju, Zagrebu, Novem Sadu, Ljubljani, Celju, Ptuju in Murski Soboti.

Pevski zbor Jadrana je predstavljal jedro društva, ki pa je delovalo tudi na drugih področjih.

Na začetku leta 1932 je primorska mladina ustanovila svoje društvo Nanos. Nanosovci petju niso posvečali toliko pozornosti kot Jadranaši in zato tudi niso dosegli takšnih uspehov kot zbor društva Jadran. Od leta 1933 je deloval Nanosov mešani pevski zbor pod vodstvom zborovodij Križmana, Laha, Hvale in Cvetka. Septembra leta 1938 pa se je zbor preoblikoval v moški zbor pod vodstvom zborovodje Laha. Zbor je sodeloval na številnih prireditvah, že kmalu po preoblikovanju tudi pri operni predstavi Aida.

10. septembra 1939 sta se obe društvi združili. Še pred to formalno združitvijo sta se združila tudi oba pevska zbora. V skupnem zboru je prepevalo od 60 do 70 pevcev pod vodstvom Ubalda Vrabca (Mariborski večernik »Jutra«, 5. 10. 1939, 4).

ODNOS DOMAČEGA PREBIVALSTVA DO PRIMORSKIH EMIGRANTOV

Razmere po prvi svetovni vojni so bile neurejene. Beda in draginja sta položaj domačega prebivalstva le še slabšali. Zaradi tega so bili domačini do prvih primorskih emigrantov neprijazni. Tako lahko v časniku Mariborski delavec preberemo: »Odnosaji med domačim prebivalstvom in begunci iz zasedenega ozemlja nudijo več žalostnih nego razveseljivih pojavov. Zdi se, kakor da bi postali begunci po vsej Sloveniji – izvzemši nekatere kraje – prava peza in nadloga domačemu prebivalstvu. Prihajajo celo vesti, da se ponekod vrši zelo zoprno odrivanje, zapostavljanje in zmerjanje beguncev, in sicer ravno takih, ki bi bili potrebni največje podpore in tolažbe« (Mariborski delavec, 23. 9. 1919, 2). Na težak položaj beguncev je opozarjala tudi Deželna vlada za Slovenijo in naprošala prebivalstvo, naj z begunci »postopajo prijazno, uslužljivo, pravično in nepristransko« (Mariborski delavec, 23. 9. 1919, 2). O

težavah beguncev s Primorske piše tudi časnik Straža, kjer je poročevalec zapisal: »da se ravna z njimi jako grdo in prezirljivo. Domače prebivalstvo jim daje občutiti, da jih smatra kot pritepenice in vsiljivce, jih zaničuje, ter jim nagaja, kolikor more« (Straža, 4. 6. 1920, 2). V številnih člankih je mogoče prebrati o razmerah, ki so begunce prisilile v to, da so zapustili domove. Pisci so obsojali grdo ravnanje domačinov in se zavzemali za begunce. Tako lahko v Mariborskem delavcu preberemo: »Naš primorski brat je zapustil svojo primorsko grudo, ker je moral bežati pred Lahi, svojo hišo, ker mu jo je zrušil Lah. Ni šel rad s svojega, šel je, ker je moral iti. Sovražnik mu je uničil sadove stoletnega dela. Vprašamo pa, kam pa naj gre brat v nesreči, če ne k bratu. Tako je šel naš Primorec na Kranjsko in Štajersko, kjer ga je vsak pošteno in plemenito misleč človek sprejel gostoljubno kot brata v nesreči, ki je ni sam zakrivil« (Mariborski delavec, 21. 9. 1919, 2). Kasneje je na odnose med domačini in priseljenci slabo vplivalo tudi dejstvo, da se je precej Primorcev zaposlilo pri policiji. Tako so se že kmalu ustvarili med domačini neupravičeni stereotipi o Primorcih. Negativno stališče do Primorcev je podpihovalo še nemško časopisje, ki je v njih videlo svojega konkurenta. Napetosti med domačini in emigranti s Primorske je mogoče zaznati tudi v tridesetih letih, ko je bil boj za kruh, zaradi gospodarske krize, še bolj trd. Domače prebivalstvo je v Primorcih videlo poceni delovno silo in konkurenta v boju za zaposlitev. Ščasoma so se odnosi med domačini in priseljenci iz Primorske izboljšali. Primorci so po precej hladnem sprejemu kmalu postali nepogrešljivi del mesta. Iz Primorske so prinesli odprtost, neposrednost. Ob tem si je treba predstavljati »primorske klope«, ki so bile znane po prepevanju, kvartanju in sploh veseljačenju, s katerim so vnašale dobro voljo povsod, kjer so se pojavljale. Štajercem je bila ta razposajenost in neposrednost še kako blizu.

S svojim družabnim življenjem so prenašali na domačine primorske navade in običaje. Preko teh so Mariborčani in okoličani spoznavali tudi kulinarčne posebnosti primorske kuhinje. Razširila se je uporaba paradižnika, ki so ga prebivalci Maribora pod vplivom primorskih priseljencev pričeli saditi na vrtovih in tudi uporabljati v prehrani. Vse pogosteje pa se je na krožnikih Mariborčanov znašla kaka tipična primorska jed, npr. polenta, paštašuta, njoki, jota ipd. (Godina Golija, 1996, 66–72).

Vedno bolj se je uveljavljalo tudi primorsko vrtnarstvo, tako sta se radič s paradižnikom znašla tudi na štajerskem jedilniku. Sploh pa je bilo v mestu in okolici kar nekaj znanih primorskih vrtnarjev (Šorgo, Tončič, Kmet, Božič, Glavič, Hrast, Klanjšček, Pahor, Vekjet).

Primorski podjetniki so ustanavljali tudi gradbena podjetja (Makuc, 1988, 170).

Primorci so kmalu postali tudi nepogrešljivi člani številnih mariborskih društev. Vključevali so se pred-

vsem v tista, ki so poudarjala idejo jugoslovanstva (Sokolli). Domačine pa so Primorci seznanili tudi s primorskimi oblikami druženja (»ples na brjarjih« – ples na prostem).

ZAKLJUČEK

Mariborskemu (slovenskemu) meščanstvu je po letu 1918 manjkala tradicija, ki jo je bilo treba šele ustvariti. Ljudi za kulturno delovanje je bilo treba šele vzgojiti. Primanjkovalo pa ni le domačega kapitala, ampak tudi izobražencev. Kljub temu da se je mesto znašlo pred izjemno težko nalogo, iskanjem nove identitete, je Maribor že kmalu zmogel zapolniti vrzel, ki je nastala v našem kulturnem snovanju ob politični, gospodarski in kulturni tragiki, ki je doletela Gorico in Celovec. Še več, ob pomoči primorskih Slovencev je Maribor že kmalu združil v sebi večino tega, kar so nosili v sebi slovenski mejniki. Več kot deset tisoč Primorcev, kolikor jih je

pribežalo v mesto in okolico, je pomagalo zapolniti vrzel v gospodarstvu in upravi. S svojim delovanjem so močno razgibali tudi družbeno in družabno življenje v mestu. Delovali so v gledališču (Valo Bratina, Elvira Kralj, Ema Starc, Pavla Udovič, Belizar Sancin in drugi), na likovnem področju (Viktor Cotič, Anton Gvajc, Niko Pirnat, Albert Sirk, Zoran Mušič, Zlatko Zei, Klavdij Zornik, Franjo Stiplovšek), glasbenem (Viktor Parma, Oskar Dev, Vasilij Mirk, Karol Pahor, Ubald Vrabec), literarnem področju (Radivoj Rehar, Rudolf Golouh, Janko Samec, Ivo Šorli, Ludvik Zorzut) in seveda še na drugih področjih. S svojim delovanjem so tako ob domačinih odločilno prispevali k slovenski podobi mesta, hkrati pa so krepili narodno zavest Mariborčanov, saj so bili v glavnem močno jugoslovansko orientirani. Primorske Slovence je družila enaka usoda, zato so se začeli kmalu zbirati. Organizirani so bili v društvu Jadran – ime, ki je simboliziralo zapuščene domove ob Jadranu, in nekoliko kasneje tudi v društvu Nanos.

PRIMORSKA SLOVENES IN MARIBOR 1918–1941

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SUMMARY

When General Rudolf Maister took command over Maribor and over the whole of Lower Styria and after the northern border of Slovenia had been defined by the Treaty of Saint Germain, much of the native German population left the city on the river Drava. New immigrants moved into the city, mostly from the Primorska region. It was precisely the people of Primorska as economic, ethnic and political emigrants who with their operation in the spheres of culture, education, social events and national defence left a profound mark on the social and cultural life of Maribor during the two world wars. After the emigration of the Germans, over ten thousand people of Primorska, who had taken refuge in the city and its surroundings before the rise of the fascist terror, helped to fill a gap in the economy and administration of the region. With their activities they also significantly changed the social life of the city. They were active in theatre (Valo Bratina, Elvira Kralj, Ema Starc, Pavla Udovič, Belizar Sancin and others), art (Viktor Cotič, Anton Gvajc, Niko Pirnat, Albert Sirk, Zoran Mušič, Zlatko Zei, Klavdij Zornik, Franjo Stiplovšek), music (Viktor Parma, Oskar Dev, Vasilij Mirk, Karol Pahor, Ubald Vrabec), literature (Radivoj Rehar, Rudolf Golouh, Janko Samec, Ivo Šorli, Ludvik Zorzut) and in other areas as well. Working alongside the local residents, they contributed greatly to the Slovenian image of the city and with their strong pro-Yugoslav orientation helped strengthen the national awareness of the people of Maribor.

It was precisely with the help of the people of Primorska that Maribor was able to fill the gap that had occurred in its cultural endeavours in time of the political, economic and cultural tragedy that had befallen the cities of Gorizia and Klagenfurt. Moreover, with the help of Primorska Slovenes, Maribor soon united in itself most of the qualities of the people of Slovenian border areas. Certainly, this was also due to the new role the city assumed in the Kingdom of SHS. Regardless of the circumstances, Maribor became the second most important city and on the whole managed to play this role very well. Even to the point of overshadowing the capital city in several fields.

The emigrants from Primorska founded the association Jadran, its name symbolizing their abandoned homes by the Adriatic Sea, and somewhat later also the association Nanos.

Key words: Primorska Slovenes, Primorska Slovenes in Maribor, the Adriatic, Nanos

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PAM, MOM, SR, UGSHS – Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor (PAM), fond Mestna občina Maribor (MOM), Splošna registratura (SR) - posebni fascikli, gledališče, Dopis Udruženja glumaca Srba, Hrvata in Slovence Umetniškom odeljenju Ministarstva Prosvete u Beogradu, Ljubljana 25. 1. 1922 (UGSHS).

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LITERACY SKILLS IN MINORITY LANGUAGE: THE CASE OF THE SLOVENE MINORITY IN ITALY

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ABSTRACT

Considering the new conception of literacy and functional literacy skills, the study investigates literacy skills in the minority language among the bilingual population of the Slovene minority in Italy. Due to its status as minority language and its limited public use, the members of the minority have less opportunity to develop their literacy skills in the minority language. Literacy skills in the minority language have been tested on a sample of high school students who are attending Slovene medium schools and factors related to literacy skills have been investigated.

Key words: literacy, functional literacy, minority language

COMPETENZE DI SCRITTURA IN LINGUA MINORITARIA: L'ESEMPIO DELLA MINORANZA SLOVENA IN ITALIA

SINTESI

In riferimento agli attuali concetti di alfabetizzazione e alfabetizzazione funzionale, la presente ricerca esamina le competenze di scrittura in lingua minoritaria, possedute dagli appartenenti bilingui alla minoranza slovena in Italia. A causa dello status di lingua minoritaria e delle limitate possibilità di uso pubblico della lingua slovena, gli appartenenti alla minoranza hanno minori opportunità di sviluppare competenze di scrittura nella lingua minoritaria. Le competenze di scrittura nella lingua minoritaria sono state testate su un campione di studenti di scuola media, frequentanti scuole con lingua d'insegnamento slovena. Nell'analisi è indagato l'effetto dei diversi fattori che influiscono sullo sviluppo delle competenze di scrittura in lingua minoritaria.

Parole chiave: alfabetizzazione, alfabetizzazione funzionale, lingua minoritaria

INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERACY CONCEPT AND TO THE FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM

The definition of literacy and reading has changed in parallel with shifts in society, economy and culture. Today literacy skills are used in several different contexts of everyday life and for several different purposes and roles which individuals adopt in society. Baker (1996) has classified these uses in seven areas: literacy for survival (meaning the basic day to day use of written texts), literacy for learning, for citizenship and political empowerment, for personal relationships, for personal pleasure and creativity, for employment, and to empower the mind.

Functional literacy is a wider concept of literacy skills which go beyond the ability to read and write and includes all the knowledge and skills that are needed for individuals to act in their everyday lives, such as understanding, using and reflecting on written texts in order to achieve one's goals, to develop one's knowledge and potential and to participate in society (OECD, 1995; 1997; 2000; Tuijnman, 2001). These competences include a set of linguistic tools that are important for meeting the demands of modern societies. Among others, policy planners consider literacy skills as fundamental for success in education, in the workplace and as a basic skill for lifelong learning.

Early research on literacy has focused on skills and ignored the context of the acquisition and use of literacy. This reflects two different epistemological approaches to the study of literacy: the autonomous and the ideological models (Street, 1984). In the autonomous model, literacy is considered a neutral technology, independent of social context. On the other hand, in the ideological model, literacy is subject to cultural construction and social practice and it derives meaning from the situation in which it is embedded. Therefore the model recognises the variety »of cultural practices associated with reading and writing in different contexts« (Street, 1993, 7). For this reason functional literacy can even be considered a social phenomenon and a social practice, since it is not universal, but relative – it is related to the features of the rich cultural variation of the society in which it is taking place and the society has an important influence in determining it. From this derives the origin of the concept of local literacies (Street, 1993),

requiring an in-depth account of the cultural setting in which literacy occurs and is embedded.

Another important conceptual distinction, namely the one between literacy practice and event, was first defined by Heath (1983), who felt that a literacy event is represented by any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interaction and their interpretative processes (Heath, 1982, 93); while the concept of literacy practice includes social practices and conceptions of reading and writing (Street, 1984, 1) which individuals bring to bear upon these events and give meaning to (Street, 2003). The concept of literacy practice places literacy events and individual actions in a solidly social frame, contextualising the event culturally and describing the everyday uses and meanings of literacy.

Literacy practice occurs within and is based upon literacy domains which represent a patterned context within which literacy is used and learned (Barton, Hamilton, 2000). Considering the pluralisation, multimodality and multiplicity of communication channels in which literacy occurs in contemporary society, literacy genres and the ever increasing cultural and linguistic diversity, the concept of multiliteracy was recently introduced (Cope, Kalantzis, 2000). Much of the research done has involved investigating the literacy tasks that are transferred from one literacy function to the other, while less research has focused on tasks that are not transferable, but stable across context (Barlett, 2003).

Research on cross-linguistic transfer has registered positive relationships of literacy-related skills across languages.

THE CASE STUDY AND RESEARCH AIMS

This study investigates literacy skills in the minority language among the Slovene minority in Italy.¹ In Friuli Venezia Giulia,² the region where the minority is historically settled, the right to the public use of Slovene was, in theory, granted by international agreement.³ In 2001, the new Protection Law⁴ was approved, granting additional collective rights for the use of the minority language in public and with the local authorities,⁵ but in practice the law has only recently begun to be implemented and therefore the public use of the language is still very limited.

1 There are no official census data about the number of the Slovenes. From unofficial survey data, some estimates are available. In the whole region of the Friuli Venezia Giulia, there may be 95,000 people who identify themselves as Slovene.

2 The Friuli Venezia Giulia region is situated in the north-eastern part of Italy, bordering the Republic of Slovenia.

3 The international agreements are based on a post World War II agreement, the London Memorandum.

4 Law No. 38/2001 »Regulations of the Slovene linguistic minority in the Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia«.

5 More precisely, the new regulation relates to the use of Slovene in public administration, elected and collective bodies, communications by public authorities, official documents, toponymy and in communication with juridical bodies.

There is a network with a long tradition of Slovene medium schools⁶ at all levels (from kindergartens to high schools), in which the Slovene language is used as the exclusive language of instruction. In Italian medium schools the Slovene language is not taught (neither as an optional subject nor as a foreign language). In the last 15 years, the number of students coming from mixed and non-Slovene families has increased:⁷ nowadays 29% of the school population comes from Slovene families, 41% from mixed and 24% from non-Slovene families (SLORI, 2010).

Members of the Slovene minority are bilingual and biliterate, while Italians do not know Slovene and use Italian exclusively.

Due to the above-mentioned circumstances, Slovene has mostly been used in private life and only to a modest extent in public life. In most public situations the majority language is used. The minority language is mostly used as an in-group language: in the family, school context and in the associations and organisations that are part of the minority network (Kaučič Baša, 1998). The use of the Italian language in communication exceeds the use of Slovene as we move from the private towards the public sphere (Carli, 2002). The bilingualism of the members of the Slovene minority is characterised by a double diglossia (Pertot, 1996): i.e., a diglossic situation between the Italian and Slovene language and between the dialectal languages of each of them.

Within this framework the research hypothesis formulated is that the minority members have less opportunity to develop the functional literacy skills in the minority language, due to its minority status and its limited public use. Furthermore, several studies have shown that literacy skills decrease if not used, and therefore we face the problem of preserving literacy skills in the Slovene language after graduation from school.

The aim of the study was to investigate and assess the functional literacy skills which bilingual students have developed by the end of their formal schooling in the minority language. Are high school graduates capable of meeting some kind of external social demand placed on them which entails written information and documents? In these unbalanced language circumstances, what is the relation between literacy skills in the minority language and literacy skills in the majority language? What factors influence literacy skills in Slovene? Is it possible to formulate recommendations for the preservation and development of literacy skills in the minority language that could be incorporated into educational practice, considering that new opportunities for

the public use of Slovene may be expected to be a reality in a short time?

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

After a careful review of literature related to the above-mentioned research, first a feasibility study was carried out in order to collect information and data about local literacy practices, events and activities in the minority language in everyday life in the context under examination. For the aim of the present study, the following definition of literacy has been formulated: each individual is functionally literate in the Slovenian language, once s/he has developed such reading and writing skills in Slovenian, which allows him/her to use this language in all life contexts, anywhere, both in Slovenia and in the cross-border area, in the private and in the public sphere. Next, measurement instruments suitable for the definition of functional literacy and for a minority context were developed. These include three main components: a test booklet for the direct measurement of functional literacy skills, self-evaluation items regarding the balance of literacy skills in the two languages (majority and minority), and a background questionnaire for the collection of independent variables (demographical, sociolinguistic and sociocultural).

The test booklet was used for the direct measurement of functional literacy skills and was composed of 10 items with tasks and situations related to everyday possibilities for the use of Slovene which had been identified during the feasibility study. The test booklet focused on two main competence areas, reading and writing, each divided in two subareas. Reading refers to understanding and use of information embedded in various text and materials (documents) and understanding of vocabulary (vocabulary). Articles from the press were used related to different topics that include schedules and tables. The writing area included filling out forms (examples of forms used by local administrations and banks), and text production which involved locating, integrating and generating information (pragmatically oriented texts, such as an application for a job vacancy and a fax message for advertising in the local press).

The balance of literacy skills in the two languages was measured via proxy techniques, with questions related to individuals' ability to solve the same item in the majority language. The aim of the self-evaluation was to analyse whether or not there is a gap between the functional literacy skills in the majority and in the minority languages.

6 The network of Slovene medium schools dates back to the period of the Hapsburg Empire (18th century). During the Fascist period (from 1923) these schools were forbidden and were opened again after the World War II. Slovene medium schools exist in the province of Trieste and Gorizia, while in the province of Udine there is only one bilingual school (kindergarten, primary level and lower secondary level), where both Slovene and Italian are used as language of instruction.

7 Data refers to the school population in all three provinces at all levels of schooling.

The background questionnaire was used for the collection of variables related to language in everyday use in the private and public spheres of life. The analysis of these independent variables was useful for understanding which factors influence the development of functional literacy skills in the minority language.

Sample

The sample is composed of the whole population of high school graduates⁸ of Slovene medium schools in Trieste (Trst) and Gorizia (Gorica) (N=103). It was composed of 41.7% males and 58.3% females. The average age was 19. As for native language 82% declared their mother tongue to be Slovene, 13% not Slovene and 5% mixed.

High school represents the highest level of formal schooling available locally through the Slovene medium.

Results

Test scores are presented by the average percentage of correct answers. The self-evaluation marks are measured on a Likert scale, ranging from «easier in Italian» (1), «equal» (2), to «more difficult in Italian» (3):

As for test scores the mean percentage of correct answers is 63.94%. The percentage of correct answers ranges from 20% to 90%. As for the self-evaluation marks, the mean mark is in between the modality «easier in Italian» (1) and «same» (2) ($m = 1.73$). The values range between 1 and 3.

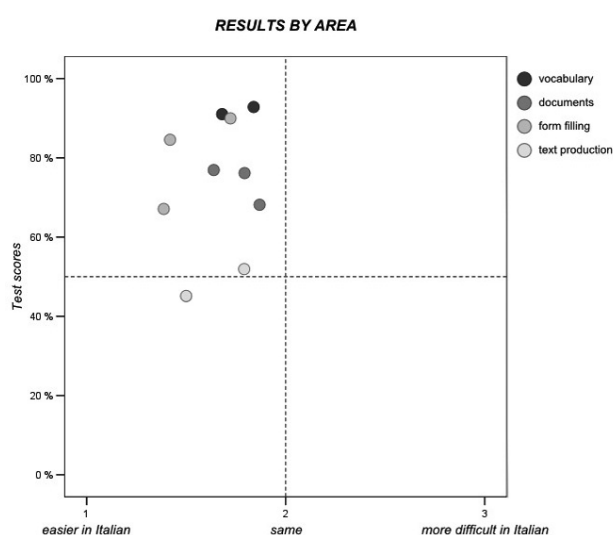


Fig. 1: Results by area.
Sl. 1: Rezultati po sklopih.

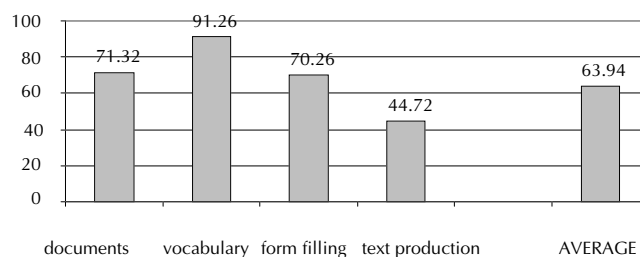


Fig. 2: Test scores by area.
Sl. 2: Testni rezultati po sklopih.

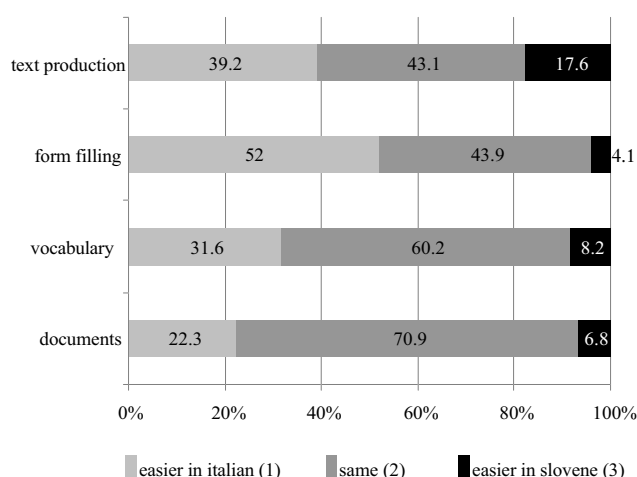


Fig. 3: Self-evaluation marks by area.
Sl. 3: Samoocenjevanje po sklopih.

Figure 1 represents the two dimensions examined: test scores and self-evaluation marks. On the graph the y-axis represents the test scores, the x the self-evaluation marks. It can be easily noticed that all the test scores are located above the x-axis except for the two exercises related to text production, in which students perform lower and the score is under 50%. Considering self-evaluation, we notice that none of the values crosses the y axis, so all the marks are located on the left side, leaning towards «easier in Italian».

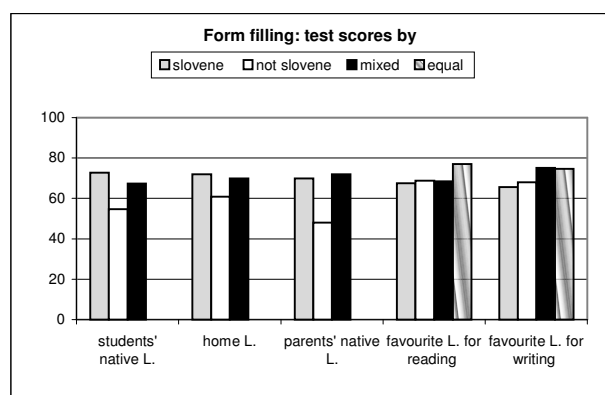
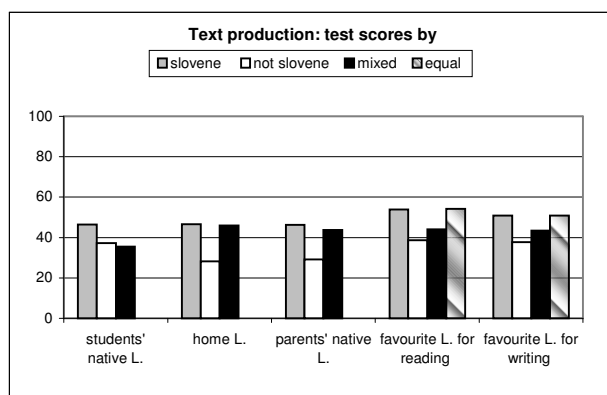
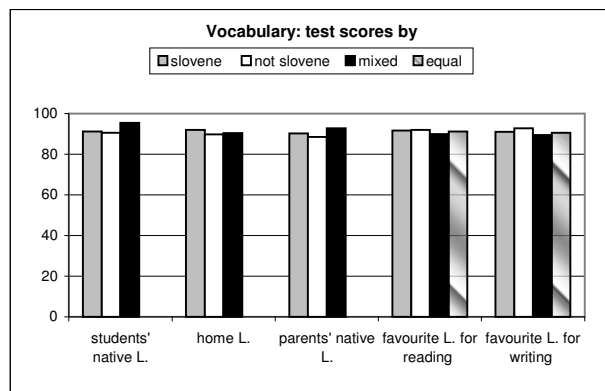
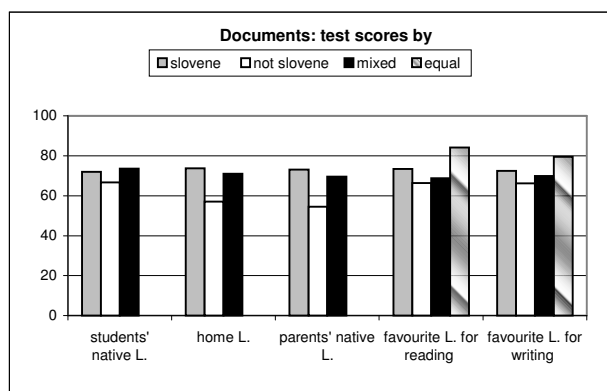
In the test scores the best performance is registered for vocabulary items ($m = 91.26\%$), followed by documents ($m = 71.32\%$), filling out forms ($m = 70.26\%$) and text production ($m = 44.72\%$).

The self-evaluation marks show the highest score is registered for documents ($m = 1.84$), then text production ($m = 1.78$), vocabulary ($m = 1.77$), and filling out forms ($m = 1.52$).

⁸ School year 2004/2005.

Table 1: Self-evaluation marks: analysis of variance by independent variables.**Tabela 1: Samoocenjevanje: analiza variance po neodvisnih spremenljivkah.**

Variable / Area	Documents			Vocabulary			Form filling			Text production		
	N	Mean	Sig.	N	Mean	Sig.	N	Mean	Sig.	N	Mean	Sig.
Students' native language												
Slovene	85	1.95	0.000	81	1.86	0.001	82	1.57	0.004	84	1.89	0.120
Not Slovene	13	1.31		12	1.25		11	1.27		13	1.31	
Mixed	5	1.4		5	1.4		5	1.2		5	1.2	
Home language												
Slovene	61	2.03	0.000	58	1.88	0.11	57	1.61	0.125	60	2	0.11
Not Slovene	9	1.22		8	1.25		8	1.25		9	1.33	
Mixed	33	1.67		32	1.69		33	1.42		33	1.52	
Parents' native language												
Slovene	58	2.02	0.000	55	1.93	0.001	55	1.62	0.161	57	1.98	0.003
Not Slovene	4	1.25		3	1		3	1.33		4	1.5	
Mixed	39	1.64		38	1.58		38	1.39		39	1.49	
Favourite language for reading												
Slovene	11	2.27	0.000	11	2	0.024	11	1.82	0.000	11	2.45	0.082
Italian	46	1.63		44	1.57		44	1.41		46	1.46	
Mixed	25	2.04		24	1.92		24	1.67		25	2	
Equal	11	1.84		19	1.89		19	1.42		20	1.9	
Favourite language for writing												
Slovene	24	2.21	0.000	23	2.17	0.000	23	1.78	0.022	24	2.33	0.000
Italian	37	1.46		35	1.46		35	1.31		37	1.3	
Mixed	19	2		18	1.83		19	1.58		19	1.84	
Equal	23	1.96		22	1.77		21	1.52		22	1.95	

**Fig. 4–7: Test scores by independent variables.****Sl. 4–7: Testni rezultati po neodvisnih spremenljivkah.**

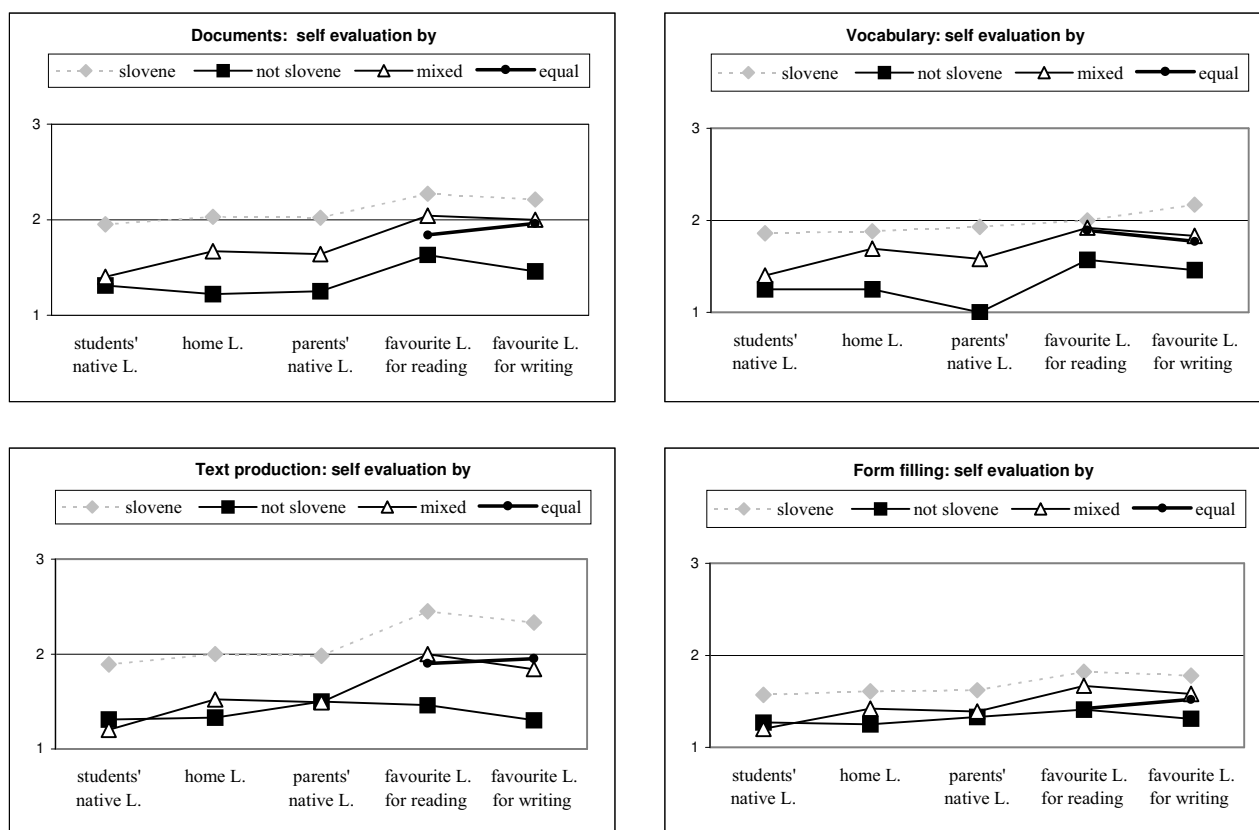


Fig. 8–11: Self evaluation by independent variables.
Sl. 8–11: Samoocenjevanje po neodvisnih spremenljivkah.

For each area an analysis of variance shows some statistically important difference in the results according to certain independent variables, such as: students' native language, parents' native language, language spoken at home, favourite language for reading, and favourite language for writing.

With respect to the test scores, among the scores for documents items there is a significant difference according to favourite language for reading (0.004). Students who read equally in both Slovene and Italian perform better (84.2%) than others. As for filling out forms, there is a statistically significant difference according to students' native language (0.048): students with Slovene as a native language perform better (72.8%). In text production there is a significant difference in accordance with favourite language for reading (0.029): students who would rather read in Slovene and equally in Slovene and Italian perform better. (See figures 4–7).

All the above listed variables seem to influence the self-evaluation marks (Figures 8–11). There is a recurrent trend in the distribution of the marks by values of the variables: when a Slovene value occurs, then the means

rank higher, towards the value 2 (equal), reflecting a more balanced bilingual competence (Table 1).

CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

With respect to the output of the assessment and the competence areas analysed, in the test scores we recorded the worst performance for text composition items. We can presume that the students who attend Slovene medium schools have developed school and academic literacy (Cummins, 2000) skills in the Slovene language, but not the functional ones that are used for pragmatically oriented texts and tasks. Although the test scores differ by the variables examined, the differences are not statistically significant. The only significant difference is according to favourite language for reading in the documents score and native language in the task of filling out forms. The other variables seem to have no influence.

Variables such as the language spoken at home and native language seem unrelated to test results. Since test items are strongly related to the public use of Slovene,

from the results a first consideration is possible: the use of minority language as an in-group language has not much influence on the skills for public performance in the same language.

The second consideration regards the balance between Slovene and Italian. This is based on students' evaluation as to whether completing the same task in Italian would be easier or more difficult. The general trend is moving from »same« towards »easier in Italian«. Even students whose predominant language is Slovene in their everyday private lives (those with Slovene as native language, those with Slovene spoken at home, those who attend Slovene medium schools and who have parents with Slovene as a native language) do not lean towards »more difficult in Italian«, except with respect to the items related to understanding and use of information embedded in various texts and materials (documents items). None of these factors seems to be strong enough to strengthen the development of functional literacy skills in the minority language – neither to reach a balanced bilingual competence (the »same« value), nor to make students feel that it would be more difficult to perform the same task in Italian. The only two variables whose values exceed »same« and moving slightly towards »more difficult in Italian« are the favourite language for reading and writing.

From the perspective of language preservation and development we can assume that a Slovene background and home can not reverse the trend towards developing better functional literacy skills in the majority language, since functional literacy is a set of skills that are more part of the public than the private sphere. According to previous studies made among the Slovene minority members in Italy, Slovene is used as an in-group lan-

guage and mostly in the private sphere while Italian is used in the public domain. This may be the reason why the students tended to feel that they would perform more easily in Italian. In educational practice some useful considerations are possible: in the language contact area subject to investigation, the lack of exposure to the public use of Slovene does not facilitate a natural development of functional literacy skills in the minority language. Slovene predominance in the private sphere seems not to be enough for a balanced development of these skills in both languages. In educational practice it would be useful to enrich the teaching curriculum and incorporate developmental skills and abilities related to the public use of the language, in order to enable the next generation to effectively use Slovene even in situations such as those involving local governments and administrations. It may be worthwhile to reflect on the possibility of enriching the curriculum with materials, resources and tasks related to the competence areas and skills examined, although data from research carried out in other parts of the world are contradictory: on one hand, data suggest that schools alone are limited in their power to revitalise endangered languages (Fishman, 1991); on the other hand, achievement in the minority language is generally sensitive to the amount of instruction in that language, while majority language development is relatively insensitive to school exposure (Harley et al., 1990).

In due course, after the law protecting the public use of Slovene is completely implemented by the local authorities, it will be interesting to investigate longitudinally, whether there is a positive impact on the development of functional literacy skills in Slovene.

PISNE KOMPETENCE V MANJŠINJSKEM JEZIKU: PRIMER SLOVENSKE MANJŠINE V ITALIJI

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POVZETEK

Definicija pismenosti se spreminja vzporedno z družbenim, ekonomskim in kulturnim razvojem. Sodobno pojmovanje pismenosti presega zgolj obvladovanje spretnosti branja in pisanja. Zajema znanje in spretnosti, ki so posamezniku potrebne v vsakodnevnem življenju, kot so razumevanje in uporaba pisnega gradiva za učinkovito delovanje, pridobivanje znanja, osebni razvoj in sodelovanje v družbenem življenju. Pisne kompetence se upoštevajo kot temeljne predpostavke za uspeh na šolskem področju, na delovnem mestu in kot osnova za vseživljenjsko izobraževanje.

Avtorica v prispevku preučuje pisne kompetence v manjšinskem jeziku med dvojezičnimi pripadniki slovenske manjšine v Italiji. Postavljena je hipoteza, da so pripadniki manjšine, posebno tisti, ki so dokončali šolo z manjšinskim učnim jezikom, usvojili določen jezikovni standard in stopnjo funkcionalne pismenosti v obeh jezikih, manjšinskem in večinskem. Vendar omejene možnosti uporabe slovenščine v javnosti in status manjšinskega jezika močno zavirajo uporabo in razvoj funkcionalne pismenosti v slovenskem jeziku v prid večinskemu italijanskemu jeziku. V javni sferi prevladuje raba italijanskega jezika, medtem ko je raba manjšinskega jezika omejena na družinsko okolje, šolo in manjšinske ustanove in organizacije. Številne študije obenem ugotavljajo, da pisne kompetence zaradi neuporabe okrnijo in postavlja se vprašanje ohranjanja pisnih kompetenc v slovenskem jeziku po zaključku šolanja.

Pisne kompetence v manjšinskem jeziku je avtorica testirala na vzorcu srednješolcev, ki obiskujejo šole s slovenskim učnim jezikom. Preučila je dejavnike, ki vplivajo na dinamike višanja oz. upadanja pismenosti. Ob upoštevanju definicije, da je posameznik funkcionalno pismen v slovenščini, ko je razvil tako raven branja in pisanja v slovenskem jeziku, da je sposoben uporabljati slovenščino v vseh življenjskih vlogah kjerkoli, v zasebni in javni sferi, predstavljajo raziskovalni izsledki pomembno izhodišče za razvoj strategij in predlogov za zviševanje stopnje funkcionalne pismenosti v slovenskem jeziku.

Ključne besede: pismenost, funkcionalna pismenost, manjšinski jezik

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LANGUAGE DIVERSITY IN BORDER REGIONS: SOME RESEARCH DATA ON THE PERCEPTION AMONG THE PUPILS OF TWO SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

The article presents some data from a case study performed among pupils (13–14 years old) and their parents from two towns along Slovene/Italian border (Nova Gorica and Gorizia/Gorica) where two different socio-ethnic groups live in contact: on the Slovenian side there is a relatively homogeneous Slovene community, whereas on the Italian side there is an ethnically mixed population of Italians and Slovenes. The paper focuses on the presentation of some empirical data concerning the perception of language diversity, the perception of the knowledge of the 'neighbouring language', the subjective evaluation of the 'neighbouring language', the relations between the Italian and Slovene language and other languages, especially English, among pupils and their parents on the two sides of the border.

Key words: Border area, language diversity, perception, minority language, foreign language, neighbouring language, language competence

DIVERSITÀ LINGUISTICA IN REGIONI FRONTALIERE: ALCUNI DATI DI RICERCA SULLA PERCEZIONE TRA GLI ALLIEVI DI DUE SCUOLE SUPERIORI

SINTESI

L'articolo presenta alcuni dati tratti da uno studio analitico realizzato tra gli alunni (di 13–14 anni d'età) e i loro genitori di due città sul confine sloveno-italiano (Nova Gorica e Gorizia/Gorica), dove due diversi gruppi socio-etnici vivono a contatto: dalla parte slovena c'è una comunità slovena relativamente omogenea, mentre dalla parte italiana esiste una popolazione etnicamente mista di italiani e sloveni. L'articolo s'incentra sulla presentazione di alcuni dati empirici relativi alla percezione della diversità linguistica e della conoscenza della 'lingua contigua', alla valutazione soggettiva della 'lingua contigua', e alle relazioni tra la lingua italiana, quella slovena e altre lingue, specialmente l'inglese, tra gli alunni e i loro genitori su ambo i lati del confine.

Parole chiave: area di confine, diversità linguistica, percezione, lingua minoritaria, lingua straniera, lingua contigua, competenza linguistica

INTRODUCTION

Regions divided by borders represent some kind of a »natural laboratory« in which multiculturalism or multilingualism is the objective reality. Research in such a laboratory also means observation, perception, analysis of phenomena and relationships between languages and cultures, and consequently also between various ethnic groups. Borders – e.g., state, political, socio-economic, linguistic – mark each region and give it a certain specific dimension by which it is distinguished from other regions. Linguistic borders do not always correspond with national ones, and this gives border regions additional specificities. It is these specificities that undoubtedly affect the lives and attitudes of people and the way they view themselves and others, which was the subject of our interest and research.

Border regions represent contact between two or more different cultures and languages. In such an environment, bilingual or multilingual speakers are a reality. Although in communication between groups living in contact borders may change, they are always the result of political and socio-economic factors in the environment. In border regions, language has a communicational and symbolic dimension, it is the indicator of diversity, and although it is not always the most important symbol that marks the borders between communities, it is an important indicator of an individual group's status and of relationships between groups (Barth, 1969). Here one should start from the assumption that individual languages in such environments have different (mostly unequal) communication functions and that individual speakers in addition to their own language first learn those languages that enable them to be included in the wider communication space. In each observed border region, it is possible to set up a hierarchy of languages as a hierarchical pyramid (Calvet, 1999), which has a varied functional configuration due to various factors (linguistic policies, power in the »language market« etc.). In the hierarchical pyramid, the position of languages coming into contact in a certain border region also reflects the relation of the groups and shows whether the groups live one beside the other or one with the other (Nečak Lük, Musken, Novak Lukanovič, 2000; Novak Lukanovič, 2003).

At a given moment it is almost impossible to distinguish linguistic processes from social ones because in every environment language and society are always closely interconnected and interwoven. Language is part of an individual's personality, and linguistic habits are

the most important components of social habits. Language as a social phenomenon is closely related to social structure and the system of social values. It is through language communication or linguistic behaviour that individuals reflect the social norms required by a certain position and through this their attitudes towards other people are also determined.

In individual border regions, different communities coming into contact have different roles and positions, so that their languages also have different roles. In specific situations, the decision by an individual or a group to use or learn a certain language or certain language variant is always related to social factors, and this also leads to their different perception and acceptance of individual languages. The perception of language diversity by an individual is thus reflected in his/her attitude towards individual languages. Attitude towards language is a complex phenomenon and includes both the acceptance of individual languages, knowledge of individual languages and also the influences of situational factors. Which language or which language form will prevail in a certain context largely depends on the subjective opinions of the individual, as well as their linguistic capacity and motivation to learn and use language. All of these indicators can be united under the syntagm »attitude towards language« (Baker, 1992). The scientific literature discusses attitude towards language both theoretically and empirically by using statistical analysis. In the interpretation of empirical data it is not enough to detect an attitude and analyse and evaluate it with statistical methods; attitude towards language needs to be placed into the context of its environment and analysed on the basis of additional factors. Border regions with their specificities strongly mark an individual's perception of language and language diversity.

PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY

Selected border region

The selected area is on the Slovene-Italian border, and comprises the city municipalities of Nova Gorica and Gorizia/Gorica.¹ On the Slovene side, there is a region with a relatively homogenous Slovene community and on the Italian side there is an ethnically-mixed region with Slavic, Latin and German ethnic groups in contact. The two different ethnically-marked regions create both similarities and differences between the populations concerning the perception of language(s) as a result of various historical, political, economical and cultural factors.

1 In the year 2003 the population of Nova Gorica was approx. 36,155; ethnically the majority of citizens were Slovenes (83.2%) and the rest of inhabitants were from other Republics of former Yugoslavia (Nova Gorica, 2009). In the city of Gorizia/Gorica live approx. 37,000 inhabitants (Gorizia, 2009). There are no data about the ethnic stratification of the population.

In these regions, the role of language and culture had a special significance throughout history. During the period of strained relationships between the Italian and the Slovene population from the second half of the 19th century onwards and especially during the period of Fascism, in this region as well as elsewhere along the Slovene western national border, language represented the first line, the limit, a defence line and an identification starting point for each of the national communities.

Circumstances that were unfavourable for creating harmony between these two communities continued to exist even after World War II and, as is well known, issues related to the Slovene minority in Italy have not been satisfactorily resolved to this day (Bufon, 1995). Due to unresolved historic facts, it is entirely clear that even today the problem of communication between the Italian and Slovene side in this region cannot be discussed and treated merely as a problem of a practical nature regarding communication, but that the strong symbolic function of a language should also be taken into account in analysing communications.

Although expansion of the European Union changed the meaning and significance of »state borders«, the Slovene-Italian border region is still marked by the »border«, which is defined by language, culture, history, space and economy. Even before the beginning of integration processes in Europe, towns on both sides of the border were connecting with each other in the fields of economy, culture, urban planning, environmental protection, infrastructure, etc., in spite of the state border. Many scientific studies stressed the meaning of cross-border initiatives (for example Bufon, 1995; 2002; Gasparini, 2001; Uršič, 2001). The intensity and content of cooperation and linking in this border region were naturally quite varied and oscillated over different time periods, primarily due to various political and also economic circumstances on both sides of the border, which led to differences in individual perceptions of the significance and role of language and cultural diversity. However, over the entire past periods of interconnections and links, the fact that very little attention was paid to the problem of communication between individual groups in this region remained unchanged.

Since conflicts and/or agreements between individual languages or individual groups always change in parallel with wider social trends, Slovenia's accession to the European Union certainly represents a challenge for

language relationships in the border regions discussed. Another challenge for relationships between individual languages in the era of globalisation, especially during the past decades, is the expansion (primarily) of English as a mediating language with an expansive function. Interculturalism and the role of an individual language have also arisen in response to globalisation processes (Rizman, 1994). Even within the European Union, the question of a unified communication space and thus the position of individual languages on the »language market« is opening up with the common market and free flow of capital and people (Grin, 1996).

Aims and hypotheses of the research project

Our purpose in conceiving the research project was to deal primarily with the border region, in which different languages are present – state language, the language of the neighbouring state, and foreign language.²

The data interpretation was based on the following research hypotheses:

- children and parents perceive the language and cultural diversity of their living space;
- they accept the measures aiming at intercultural communication (learn the language, use media, cooperate in different ways, etc.);
- the value of language on the »language market« is presumed to be the dominant force in the choice of language learning in the border area;
- the presence of minority and minority language in chosen border area affects intercultural communication, as well as the perception of linguistic and cultural diversity.

The sample and work methodology

The research project was conceived as a pilot study.

The sample³ was administered at selected schools among two target population-children, aged 14, and their parents, and its aim was perception of intergenerational differences. In Nova Gorica the opinion poll was carried out in two classes of the Milojka Štrukelj elementary school. On the Italian (ethnically heterogeneous) side two classes with the majority language (the Vittorio Locchi elementary school; questionnaire in Italian language) and two classes with the Slovene language (the Ivan Trinko elementary school; bilingual

2 The aim was to find the difference among categories: own community and neighboring community, own language (this was state language – Slovene for Nova Gorica and Italian for Gorizia/Gorica – not taking into account mother tongue language of respondents, which was in many cases different from the state language).

3 The questionnaire was in Slovene, Italian or both languages, depending on school. There were 37 structured questions (of open and closed type):

- referring directly and indirectly to languages (language use, self-evaluation of their own competence ...);
- presenting different standpoints regarding individual languages – official, neighbouring, foreign
- referring to crossborder cooperation and culture.

Slovene/Italian questionnaire) were included into the research project.

The empirical part (i.e., the opinion poll) of the research project on the Italian side was carried out with the assistance of the researchers from the I.S.I.G.⁴ Gorizia immediately before the entry of Slovenia into the European Union (namely, at the end of 2003).

A group interview was conducted with children at all the three schools; parents answered the questions anonymously, and the questionnaires were sent back in sealed envelopes. The entire research project sample⁵ numbered:

- 122 children, the number of boys (54.9%) slightly exceeding the number of girls (45.1%);
- 152 parents.

On the part of parents, mothers were more frequent respondents than fathers, although statistical data show that fathers represent a relatively large share (in Nova Gorica 52% women, 48% men; at both schools in Gorizia/Gorica 56% women, 44% men). Statistically, the lowest number of responses came from the school with Slovene as a teaching language, i.e., the Ivan Trinko school.⁶

At the Ivan Trinko school, where children and their parents were given the bilingual questionnaire, most of the children responded in Slovene (85.4%), while parents responded almost equally in Slovene as in Italian (only a little more than half of them answered the Slovene questionnaire – 56.4%). In the analysis of the results of open questions, a qualitative method was applied, while the acquired data, presented in the article, were analyzed with different statistical methods.⁷

Some selected results and discussion

Language variety of the sample

The results indicated that most children – regardless of the school they attend (82.8%) – have lived in the border area all their life, which means they are very familiar with this setting. The highest percentage of the children that have moved to Gorizia/Gorica over the last decade, attends the Locchi school (23.7% – 9 children);

this agrees with the answers concerning the language of the early childhood period (different regional dialects of the Italian language were stated, which proves that they have moved to Gorizia/Gorica from different parts of Italy). However, a relatively lower number of children (16.3% – 7 children) moved to Nova Gorica, at least according to our sample. These children also stated non-Slovenian language as their early childhood language, in most cases one of the languages of the former Yugoslavian nations. Likewise the analysis of language network shows that most of the children that have moved to the border area (Gorizia/Gorica or Nova Gorica) over the period of less than a decade, use different languages for different communication purposes (at home, with parents, brothers, grandparents, relatives, friends, at workplace, and in different public situations), which no doubt also affects their perception of linguistic/cultural diversity.

The results showed that most children in Nova Gorica (72%) gave Slovene as their mother tongue. As for the rest (28%), they mostly gave languages from the former Yugoslavia (Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian, etc.). At the Italian school in Gorizia/Gorica, children mostly (68.4%) gave Italian language as their mother tongue; a relatively large number of children gave Friulian language (21.1%), and in single cases other languages were mentioned (10.5% – Ukrainian, Spanish, etc.).

Most children attending the school in Gorizia with Slovene as a language of instruction gave Italian as their mother tongue (53.7%) next came Slovenian (39%), and lastly three of them mentioned some other language as their mother tongue (7.3% – German, Bosnian, Croatian).

Most parents from Nova Gorica gave Slovenian as their mother tongue (72.3%), only parents from the Italian school mentioned Italian (68.8%). However, results concerning parents from schools with Slovene language point at linguistic diversity – Slovene language (56.4%) prevails, but Italian (23.1%), Friulian and other languages are also present.

It is interesting that a relatively large number of children (almost half) from the school with Italian as the

4 Istituto di sociologia internazionale (Institute of International Sociology), Gorizia/Gorica, Italy.

5 The total number included in the research was 122 children and 152 parents. There were 43 children in Štrukelj, 38 in Locchi and 41 in Trinko. Regarding the number of parents there were 65 in Štrukelj, 48 in Locchi and 69 in Trinko.

6 The reason why parents of children attending the Trinko school with Slovene as a language of instruction did not respond in greater number is very complex, and no doubt reflects the attitude of people towards minority issues. Such a result could hardly be substantiated with the analysis of the research project results. We can only suppose that even though the empirical research itself (the questionnaire contents) does not concern the minority field directly, it was probably the people in charge of the research project, the bilingual nature of the questionnaire, and – last but not least – the topic of cultural and linguistic diversity itself, that dissuaded parents from participation, as they probably understood the research as an analysis of minority schooling, perhaps even as a way of controlling their opinions. After all the result can also be purely coincidental, arising from the fact that parents must be tired of opinion polls and questionnaires, etc.

7 The data were statistically analyzed, using Friedman, Wilcoxon and Mann-Whitney tests.

language of instruction (the Locchi school), whose mother tongue is Italian, gave a written evaluation of another language learnt in early childhood. As the second language they stated a number of variants of Italian (the dialects of Sicily, Napoli, Trieste/Trst, Tarvisio/Trbiž, etc.), which means the language they use at home is mostly dialect. The number of dialects proves that families – at least partly – originate from different parts of Italy and have moved to Gorizia/Gorica.

The answers of children attending the school with Slovene as a language of instruction in Gorizia/Gorica concerning their early childhood language show the early acquisition of two or even three languages. Results indicated the intertwining of Slovene and Italian language. Despite giving Italian as their mother tongue, they learnt Slovene in early childhood. The children attending the school with Slovene as a teaching language are bilingual, mostly living in mixed families where parents have different mother tongues. Also, the results of our research project on the language of communication between parents and children or other family members, respectively, as well as on their choice of language in public context, confirm that the children from the Ivan Trinko school who participated in our project are indeed bilingual.⁸

Attitude towards language

Many studies report that attitude towards language is hard to measure and define; it is a subjectively coloured and hard-to-measure value; it implies certain feelings; it is an emotional response of people to certain situations; it is a complex psychological whole, including knowledge, feelings and behaviour; it is never composed of one, but of several interdependent components (Howard Giles, Miles Hewstone, Peter Ball, 1983); and at the same time it is very sensible of local circumstances and political and historical changes in the community, and this is also confirmed by the results of our study.⁹

By performing a statistical analysis of responses, we attempted to detect differences in the standpoint of the responders related to:

- the significance of their state language for people on the other side of the border;

- the significance of the language of the neighbouring state for people of the region in which they are residing;
- the significance of a foreign language.

A statistical analysis indicated differences in the attitudes of the respondents towards individual assertions referring to the importance of language for business, for communication, for finding work in their own towns and for finding work on the other side of the border, as a sign of good education, for knowing the culture of others, for social prestige, for training and study, and for communication in the EU.

The results of the study showed that the respondents differed in their evaluation of the significance of the state/neighbouring/foreign language. Most of the respondents from both groups (children and parents) strongly agreed with the assertion that knowledge of languages – the state language and the neighbouring language – is important in business contacts in the border region. Statistically speaking, this assertion stood out from all others, therefore it was emphasised in our further analysis. As the most important foreign language¹⁰ most respondents (there were no differences between schools or generations) cited English, which however was given special significance for communication within the European Union, while it was not deemed important for business relationships within the border region. The degree of agreement between children in individual schools with these assertions is indicated in Table 1.

In our analyses we were especially interested in the attitude to the neighbouring language, which is related to the *us* vs. *them* relationship (our community: neighbour community, our language: neighbouring language). An attempt was therefore made to find out how respondents assess the need for knowing the language of the neighbouring country, i.e., whether they agree that it is essential for business contacts that they should learn the neighbouring language, whether they agree that it is important for people on the other side of the border to learn their language for business contacts and whether they agree that knowledge of the English language is necessary for business contacts in the border region. By using special statistical methods (the Friedman test) it was found that they strongly agreed (with no differences

8 There are different taxonomies defining the bilingual family, among them Baker's definition (Baker, 1988). Baker considers several parameters – parents' mother tongue, the language of communication within family (among parents, children, brothers, grandparents, aunts ...), the language used in school, setting, different situations, and official language.

9 For example: in certain environments, it was the political situation that at certain times affected the formation of attitudes of individuals or the community towards language. For example, Bourhis (1983) reports that changed political situation in Québec was associated with changed habits regarding the French and English language.

10 The respondents were asked to state a language which is not their state language or the language of the neighbouring country. English was chosen as the first foreign language in the Štrukelj school by 87.7% of the children and 87.7% of the parents, in the Locchi school by 94.7% of the children and 91.7% of the parents and in the Trinko school by 94.7% of the children and 87.2% of the parents.

Table 1: Attitude to the state/neighbouring/foreign language.
Tabela 1: Odnos do uradnega/sosedskega/tujega jezika.

(Scale 1–5, 5 = I fully agree, 4 = rather agree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 2 = rather disagree, 1 = fully disagree;
 Statistical method: Friedman test)

Standpoint: State language	Štrukelj	Locchi	Trinko
Knowledge of one's own language is necessary for people on the other side of the border in business contacts with across-border partners	4.39	4.47	4.46
Knowledge of one's own language makes communication in the EU possible	3.85	2.84	3.49

Standpoint: Neighbouring language	Štrukelj	Locchi	Trinko
Knowledge of the other's language is necessary for people on this side of the border in business contacts with across-border partners	4.07	4.13	4.15
Knowledge of the other's language makes communication in the EU possible	2.95	2.32	2.78

Standpoint: Foreign language	Štrukelj	Locchi	Trinko
Knowledge of a foreign language is necessary for people on both sides of the border in business contacts	3.63	3.59	3.49
Knowledge of a foreign language makes communication in the EU possible	4.33	4.95	4.51

between schools) with the assertion that people on the other side of the border need to know their state language for business contacts. This means that they strongly emphasised the significance of their own language (state language) for other people. At the same time, they also relatively strongly agreed that they should know the language of their neighbours. There was however a notable statistical difference between the generations: adults agreed more with this assertion while their children were not so sure that it was necessary. In a way, this was an expected result, since adults are employed, and as was shown by the analysis of responses on the use of languages in the workplace, the respondents frequently encounter other languages during their work.

The results of statistical analyses showed that the respondents do not attribute a great importance to the knowledge of language for the social standing of an individual or for communication between inhabitants, but they do strongly emphasise the association between language and economy (business contacts, employment), which means that they were very pragmatic in their evaluation and viewed the significance of knowing languages only by virtue of direct material benefits.

Knowledge of a non-mother tongue is understood as a human capital which enables people to acquire financial resources and thus ensure a higher standard of living. As an investment, individuals view knowledge of a

language also in terms of direct profit and at the same time it also brings them long-term profit, i.e., easier access to another market, knowing the other market better and more confident and even quicker success in concluding contracts (Grenier, Vaillancourt, 1983).

Self-evaluation of knowledge of individual languages

Through the questions posed, an attempt was made to detect the subjective evaluation of knowledge of individual languages. We have to stress that all the answers to the questions about language knowledge in our survey could be interpreted only as an individual's perception of proficiency and not as his or her real mastery. The results regarding the subjective evaluation of proficiency versus an objective mastery of language must be kept in mind also when comparing the data regarding the two generations, pupils and parents. In evaluating their knowledge, pupils probably related their perception also to the requirements of the school curriculum, not only to the hypothetical perfect language proficiency. The actual mastery by a children and by a parent, both claiming to possess an active knowledge of some language, could thus differ considerably. Nevertheless the data remains fully informative for our purposes, i.e., to individuate the trends of interest, and the spread of familiarity with different languages.

The children and students assessed their language (state, neighbouring, foreign) knowledge on the following level (understanding, speaking, reading, writing). Knowledge of a language was assessed using the following six point scale: 6 = very good, 5 = good, 4 = neither good nor bad, 3 = bad, 2 = very bad, 1 = none). The differences between the generations were not statistically detectable, therefore only students' results are presented (see Table 2).

There were statistical differences in the self-evaluation of knowledge of one's own language (state language) between individual schools with respect to understanding, reading and writing, while in terms of speaking there were no statistically detectable differences between the schools (Kruskal-Wallis test). All respondents assessed their knowledge of their own (state) language relatively highly at all levels (above 5), and in the statistical evaluation regarding the Slovene language, respondents from Nova Gorica stood out (Table 2).

Statistical differences between the schools were detected in the evaluation of the language of the neighbouring country at all levels, which was expected, as our study sample also included a school with curricula conducted in the Slovene language (the Ivan Trinko school in Gorizia/Gorica). For students at this school, the Slovene language is more than just the neighbouring state's language, for them Slovene has a different meaning. It is therefore understandable that they evaluated their knowledge of Slovene with relatively high marks and it was comparable to the Italian language. Regarding

their knowledge of the Slovene language, students from the Ivan Trinko School evaluated writing the lowest. A comparison of the evaluation of the neighbouring state language could be possible only between the Locchi and Štrukelj Schools, and even in this comparison it would have to be considered that the Locchi School lies in an ethnically mixed region in which Slovene is the minority language and the additional dimension should be taken into account (Table 3). The result of comparison of the Štrukelj and Locchi schools regarding knowledge of the neighbouring state's language (without taking into account situational factors) indicate that knowledge of the Italian language is at a higher level among students from Nova Gorica than is knowledge of the Slovene language among students from the Locchi School. Their evaluation of their own knowledge of the Slovene language was very low. Naturally this is a conclusion reached as a result of a statistical analysis of subjective responses of individuals.

There were no detectable statistical differences between the schools in their evaluation of knowledge of a foreign language (most respondents chose the English language) (Table 4). Knowledge of a foreign language – its understanding, speaking, reading and writing – were assessed as relatively good, which was expected. A high subjective evaluation of the level of knowledge of the language is also confirmed by the attitudes of these students and their parents regarding the significance of a foreign language in all areas, namely education, employment and communication.

Table 2: Self-evaluation of the state language – children.
Tabela 2: Samoocena znanja uradnega jezika – otroci.

Scale 1–6: 6 = very good, 5 = good, 4 = neither good nor bad, 3 = bad, 2 = very bad, 1 = none

	School	Mean	N	Std. deviation
I understand the language of my state	Štrukelj	5.72	43	1.098
	Locchi	5.82	38	.393
	Trinko	5.63	41	.536
I speak the language of my state	Štrukelj	5.60	43	.979
	Locchi	5.47	38	.603
	Trinko	5.32	41	.650
I read the language of my state	Štrukelj	5.63	43	1.001
	Locchi	5.55	38	.602
	Trinko	5.46	41	.596
I write the language of my state	Štrukelj	5.49	43	1.055
	Locchi	5.18	38	.652
	Trinko	5.10	41	.768

Test Statistics (a, b)

	I understand the language of my state	I speak the language of my state	I read the language of my state	I write the language of my state
Chi-Square	7.350	8.918	5.273	12.873
Df	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	.025	.012	.072	.002

a - Kruskal Wallis test

b - Grouping variable: school

Table 3: Self evaluation of the neighbouring language.**Tabela 3: Samoocena znanja sosedskega jezika.**

Scale 1–6: 6 = very good, 5 = good, 4 = neither good nor bad, 3 = bad, 2 = very bad, 1 = none

	School	Mean	N	Std. deviation
I understand the language of the neighbouring state	Strukelj	4.07	43	1.549
	Locchi	1.89	38	1.503
	Trinko	5.41	41	.631
I speak the language of the neighbouring state	Strukelj	3.51	43	1.778
	Locchi	1.58	38	1.388
	Trinko	5.12	41	.781
I read the language of the neighbouring state	Strukelj	3.28	43	1.906
	Locchi	1.45	38	1.179
	Trinko	5.12	41	.714
I write the language of the neighbouring state	Strukelj	2.53	43	1.564
	Locchi	1.42	38	1.081
	Trinko	4.73	41	.923

Test Statistics (a, b)

	I understand the language of the neighbouring state	I speak the language of the neighbouring state	I read the language of the neighbouring state	I write the language of the neighbouring state
Chi-Square	62.438	60.055	62.592	66.738
Df	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000

a - Kruskal Wallis test

b - Grouping variable: school

Table 4: Self-evaluation of a selected foreign language.
Tabela 4: Samoocena znanja izbranega tujega jezika.

Scale 1–6: 6 = very good, 5 = good, 4 = neither good nor bad, 3 = bad, 2 = very bad, 1 = none

	School	Mean	N	Std. deviation
I understand the most important foreign language	Strukelj	4.81	43	1.052
	Locchi	4.61	38	.718
	Trinko	4.34	41	1.237
I speak the most important foreign language	Strukelj	4.47	43	1.297
	Locchi	4.42	38	.722
	Trinko	3.95	41	1.203
I read the most important foreign language	Strukelj	4.56	43	1.402
	Locchi	4.61	38	.855
	Trinko	4.07	41	1.421
I write the most important foreign language	Strukelj	4.35	43	1.307
	Locchi	4.39	38	.790
	Trinko	3.93	41	1.349

Test Statistics (a, b)

	I understand the most important foreign language	I speak the most important foreign language	I read the most important foreign language	I write the most important foreign language
Chi-Square	4.637	7.426	4.513	3.896
Df	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	.098	.024	.105	.143

a - Kruskal Wallis test

b - Grouping variable: school

Our inquiry into the sociolinguistic situation of the area would also confirm the statement about the influence of the media on the spread of the knowledge of Italian as the neighbouring language (NL). The pupils involved in our research were not able to learn Italian at school. But they do watch TV programmes in this language: according to our data 48.8% of the interviewed pupils of the Strukelj School often watch TV programmes in Italian, 27.9% do it sometimes, and 20.9%

seldom.¹¹ When analysing the extent to which the pupils of the Locchi School watch TV programmes in the neighbouring language the situation is completely the opposite, as it is evident from Figure 1.

When comparing the same kind of data regarding the parents of the two schools, we obtain a very similar picture (Figure 2).

11 In all the cases where we aimed to evaluate the frequency of a single behaviour or action, the response categories given in our questionnaire (with the exception of *never*) were too vague (e.g., *often*, *sometimes*, *seldom*). Due to this methodological mistake that allowed the respondents to operate with different frames of reference when choosing the listed answers, the actual frequency in range of numbers cannot be pointed out.

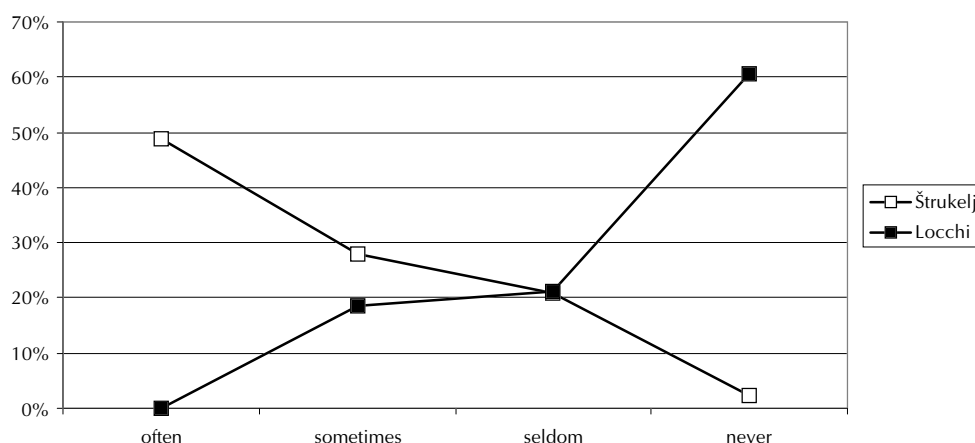


Fig. 1: 'I watch TV programmes in the neighbouring language' – pupils of the Štrukelj and Locchi Schools (in percent).

Sl. 1: 'Gledam TV programe v sosedskem jeziku' – učenci šol Štrukelj in Locchi (v odstotkih).

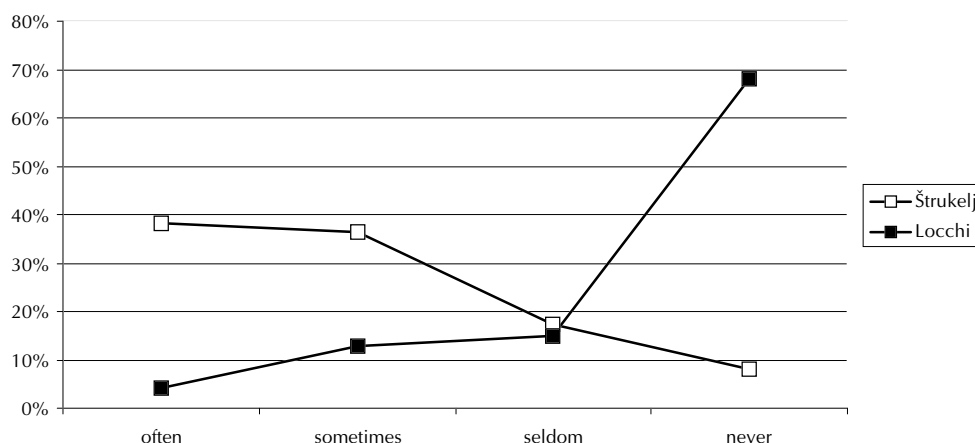


Fig. 2: 'I watch TV programmes in the neighbouring language' – parents of Štrukelj and Locchi Schoolchildren (in percent).

Sl. 2: 'Gledam TV programe v sosedskem jeziku' – starši učencev šol Štrukelj in Locchi (v odstotkih).

A comparison of general evaluations of knowledge of the neighbouring country's language

Since we were interested in general estimations of language knowledge, we asked inhabitants of the two cities, first, how good was their knowledge of the neighbouring country's language, and second, how good is the knowledge of their own language on the part of the neighbouring country's population. We put the answers to both the questions¹² together and analyzed them statistically to ascertain differences in the general appraisal

of the linguistic knowledge of inhabitants of the setting inhabited by our respondents, and inhabitants of the neighbouring state.

There are differences between schools with respect to the appraisals of the language command of the neighbouring country's inhabitants. If we compare answers to both the questions, a significant statistical difference can be perceived as much as with children as with parents from Nova Gorica (the Štrukelj school) (with children $p < 0.01$, with parents $p < 0.001$). The respondents are of the opinion that the population of Nova Gorica has a

12 The questions were: »In your opinion, how well do inhabitants of Nova Gorica and its surroundings in Slovenia speak Italian?« and »In your opinion, how well do inhabitants of Gorizia/Gorica and its surroundings in Italy speak Slovene?« The possible answers – very well, well, neither well nor badly, badly, very badly, not at all – were ranked on a scale from 1–6. The results of both question were statistically elaborated and can be seen in Figures 3, 4 and 5.

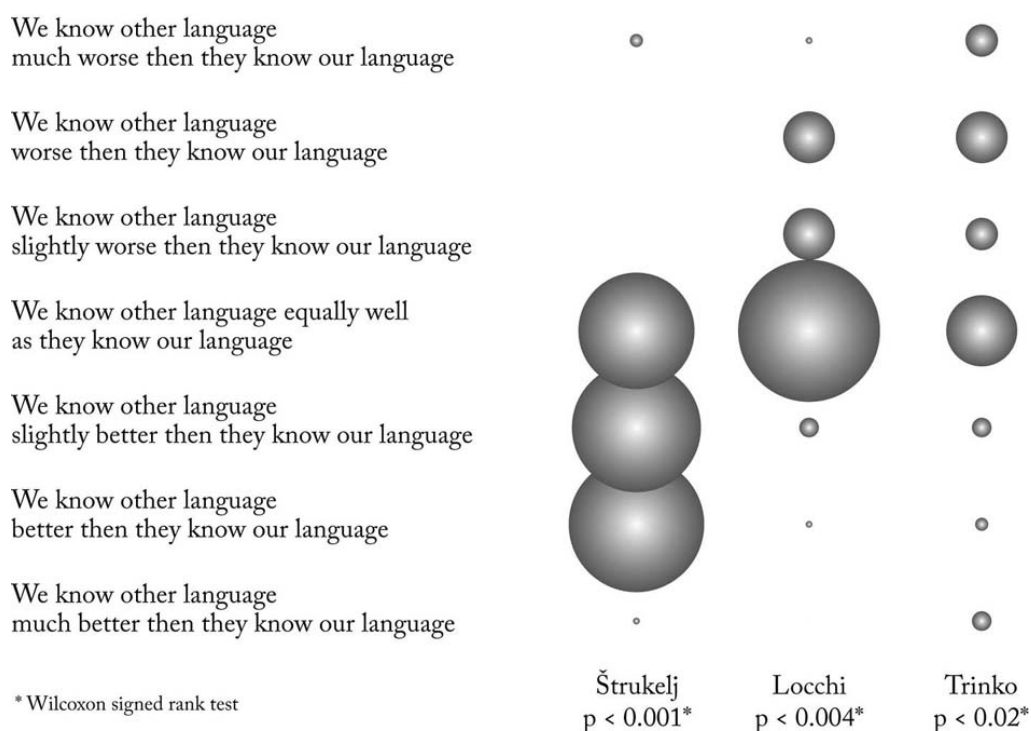


Fig. 3: Comparison of knowledge of languages on both sides of the border: parents.
Sl. 3: Primerjava znanja jezikov na obeh straneh meje: starši.

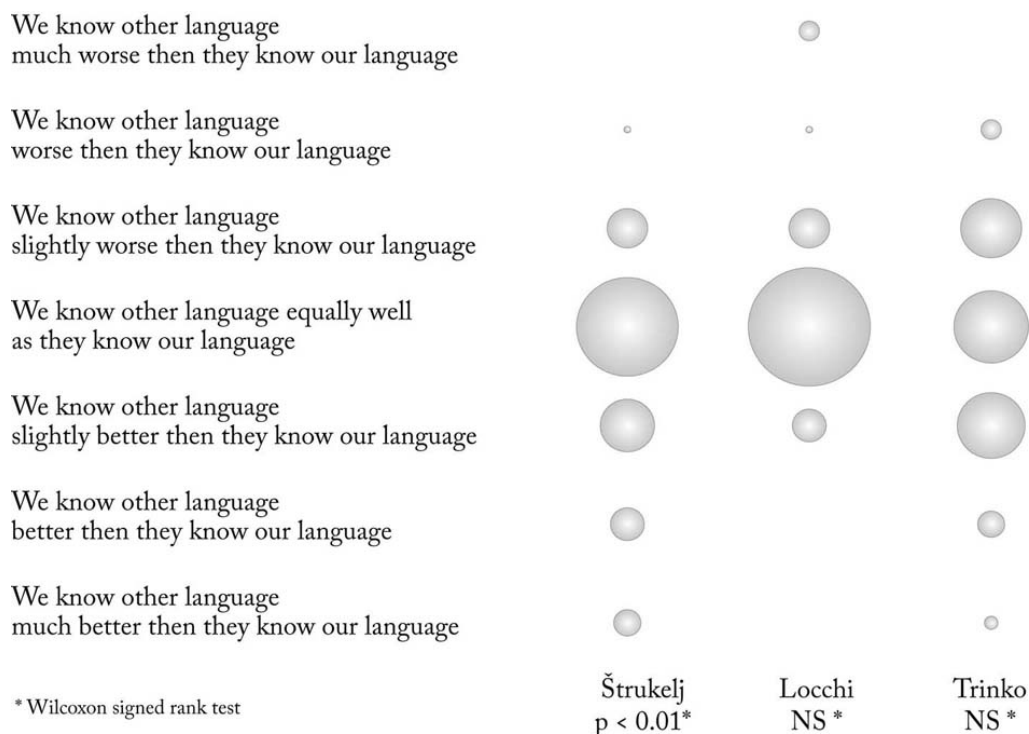


Fig. 4: Comparison of knowledge of languages on both sides of the border: children.
Sl. 4: Primerjava znanja jezikov na obeh straneh meje: otroci.

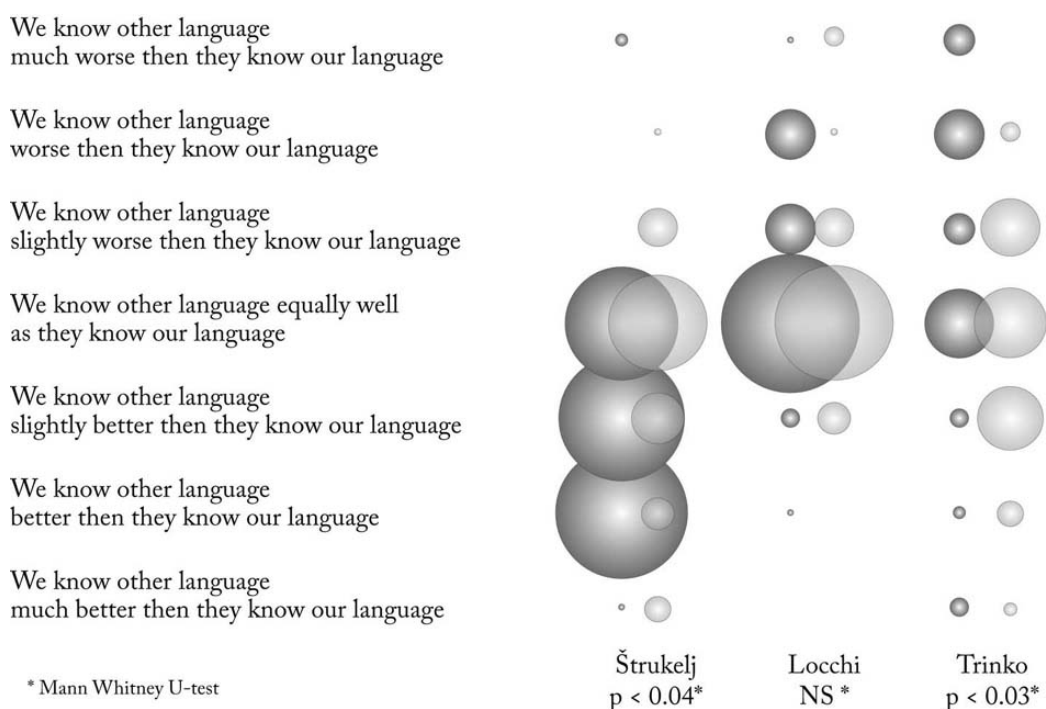


Fig. 5: Comparison of knowledge of languages on both sides of the border between children (light grey) and parents (dark grey).

Sl. 5: Primerjava znanja jezikov na obeh straneh meje med otroci (svetlo siva) in starši (temno siva).

better command of Italian language than the other way round. However, the opinions of parents and children from the Italian school Locchi is slightly different. Parents' results point out a significant difference ($p < 0.004$) in the opinions – parents believe inhabitants of Nova Gorica to have a much better command of Italian language, as compared to population of Gorizia/Gorica and Slovene language, while children are more level in their opinions and do not perceive significant differences. Results obtained at school with Slovene as teaching language (I. Trinko, Gorizia/Gorica) are varied. There are no statistically perceptible differences with children, while the result is statistically significant with parents ($p < 0.02$). The difference is expected because the result refers to the minority sample, which is why the result related to Slovene language is better.

Due to the presence of the Slovene minority and the Slovene language a slightly different evaluation on the part of all the respondents was noticed among the Trinko sample.

CONCLUSIONS

The article presents selected research project results which highlight the position of languages in the Slovene/Italian border region. The study did not deal with different phenomena at the linguistic level (borrowing, code-switching, interferences, etc.); rather, our analysis was based on language within the concept of border area and with multicultural and multilingual characteristics. We paid attention to language diversity in the sample, as well as different roles of the languages in contact. Among the parameters shaping attitude towards language, one selected dimension was presented, along with language competence. Analysis of these parameters, placed into a wider social context, represents a sound basis for understanding the role and status of certain language, and for defining its vitality.¹³

The results presented confirm our hypothesis that individuals from this sample are well aware of the cultural and linguistic diversity of the border area. The influence

¹³ The analysis of languages dealt with in our research project cannot be based on a uniform concept, because of the differences in the role and status of each individual language (state language, minority language, foreign language).

of the border is perceived by the parents in the same way as by the children: no generational differences in standpoints have been established. With detailed analysis obtained on the basis of specific statistical methods, we perceived differences among the respondents with regard to individual schools, and evaluated different links between language and culture in the border area. It has been found that differences between schools are mostly related to the evaluation of the language command of the neighbouring country's population, while there are no statistical deviations with regard to attitudes towards individual languages. Statistical analysis of the results disproved our hypothesis that the Slovene language in the border area means more than just the language of the neighbouring state. The Slovene language is also the language of Slovene minority, and together with the Italian and Friulian languages it gives character to the Italian side of the area under discussion. That is why we expected this feeling to be present in the perception of the majority Italian population, as well as in the perception of people on the Slovene side; however, this was disproved by the research results.

Our hypothesis was also verified with the analysis of

empirical data; we found out that there are differences in communications between the Slovene and the Italian side, which the respondents are aware of, regardless of generation and school. They perceive the linguistic and cultural diversity of the region in different forms of co-operation – in social, cultural and economic sphere. Results showed strong links between language and economy, and the command of a »second« language represents an important, even a fundamental element of successful business cooperation in the border region. This is confirmed by the fact that most respondents approve of gaining command of the neighbouring country's language, be it Slovene or Italian, and within school programmes. Although the learning and knowledge of the neighbouring language opens new worlds and contributes to appreciation of diversity, our respondents mostly emphasized the importance of the economic aspect.

The results confirmed that the choice and use of language in intercultural communication is not just a one-sided decision; rather, it is the result of a multidimensional intertwining of an individual's subjective perception and respect of the value of languages, and of the objective social and economic reality of the area.

JEZIKOVNA RAZNOLIKOST V OBMEJNIH REGIJAH: NEKAJ REZULTATOV RAZISKAVE O DOJEMANJU PRI UČENCIH DVEH SREDNJIH ŠOL

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POVZETEK

V prispevku so predstavljeni nekateri izsledki študije primera, izvedene med učenci (starimi 13–14 let) in njihovimi starši v dveh mestih ob slovensko-italijanski meji (Nova Gorica in Gorizia/Gorica) na kontaktnem prostoru dveh različnih družbeno-etničnih skupin: na slovenski strani živi razmeroma homogena skupnost Slovencev, na italijanski strani pa prebiva etnično mešana populacija Italijanov in Slovencev. Na kulturno različnih obmejnih območjih, ki soobstajata v neposredni bližini, so se razvili različni procesi medkulturne izmenjave. Pri dojemanju in odnosu do jezika ali jezikov so etnične razlike med obema območjema (enim homogenim in enim heterogenim) skupaj z drugimi, drugačnimi dejavniki, vir podobnosti na eni strani meje in razlik na drugi.

Konflikti in/ali sobivanja med različnimi skupnostmi so vedno povezani s širšim družbenim stanjem. V tem smislu je jasno, da vsop Slovenije v EU predstavlja izziv za odnose med etničnimi skupnostmi na obravnavanem obmejnem območju, ki so se obdržale vse do danes. Dodaten izziv za odnose med različnimi jeziki v obdobju globalizacije, še posebej v zadnjih desetletjih, prihaja od razširjene uporabe angleščine kot 'lingua franca'. Po drugi strani enega od odzivov na globalizacijo predstavlja interkulturalizem in nova vloga svetovnih jezikov, ki je presegla okvir izključne funkcije komunikacije.

Prispevek se osredotoča na predstavitev nekaterih empiričnih podatkov, ki zadevajo dojemanje jezikovne raznolikosti, dojemanje znanja 'sosedskega jezika', subjektivno vrednotenje 'sosedskega jezika', odnose med italijansščino in slovenščino ter drugimi jeziki, posebej angleščino, med učenci in njihovimi starši na obeh straneh meje.

Ključne besede: mejno območje, jezikovna raznolikost, dojemanje, manjšinjski jezik, tuj jezik, sosedski jezik, jezikovna kompetenca

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BASQUE AS A MINORITY LANGUAGE AND ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: ARE THEY COMPLEMENTARY LANGUAGES IN THE BASQUE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM?

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ABSTRACT

Since Basque acquired co-official status with Spanish in 1978, efforts to revive the language have been made; however, Basque is still clearly a minority language. Nevertheless, the Basque Government has decided to go even further and turn the bilingual system into a trilingual one. At a preliminary stage, this will be carried out by implementing experimental programmes in which Basque, Spanish and English will all become languages of instruction. As a result of this changing educational context, some people consider that the ever increasing role played by English could jeopardize all the efforts made so far to boost the presence of Basque in and out of the school, as the presence of two international languages could become a hurdle too high to overcome. In this paper this issue will be analyzed by focusing on the research studies available, in an attempt to shed some light on the controversy.

Key words: trilingualism, minority language, foreign language, Basque language

IL BASCO COME LINGUA MINORITARIA E L'INGLESE COME LINGUA STRANIERA: SONO LINGUE COMPLEMENTARI NEL SISTEMA EDUCATIVO BASCO?

SINTESI

Nonostante gli sforzi di rimmetterlo in uso da quando è stato riconosciuto come lingua co-ufficiale con lo spagnolo nel 1978, è evidente che il basco rimane una lingua minoritaria. Il governo basco, tuttavia, ha deciso di andare oltre e trasformare il sistema educativo bilingue in trilingue. Nella fase preliminare questo sarà attuato mediante programmi sperimentali nei quali il basco, lo spagnolo e l'inglese fungeranno tutti da lingue di insegnamento. Alcuni ritengono che come risultato di questo cambiamento introdotto nel contesto educativo il ruolo crescente della lingua inglese potrebbe mettere in pericolo gli sforzi finora compiuti per rafforzare l'uso del basco all'interno e al di fuori delle scuole, poiché la presenza di due lingue internazionali potrebbe diventare un ostacolo troppo grande da superare. Con lo scopo di fare luce su questa controversia, l'articolo analizza la questione basandosi su ricerche disponibili.

Parole chiave: trilinguismo, lingua minoritaria, lingua straniera, il basco

INTRODUCTION

In 1995 the European Commission published the Whitepaper entitled *Teaching and Learning: Towards a Learning Society*, where it was set as an objective that all European citizens should be proficient in three European languages (their mother tongue plus two other Community languages), as this will give them advantages when it comes to obtaining a job, when deepening understanding between European citizens, when trying to hold xenophobia at bay or when taking up the option of mobility available within the European Union (the Socrates/Erasmus programme could be a very good case in point), to name but a few of these potential advantages. The concept of Community languages referred to the national languages of two other EU member-states, although in later European Commission documents this was specified in such a way that »reference was made to one foreign language with high international status (English was deliberately not referred to) and one so-called 'neighbouring language'« (Extra, Yagmur, 2004, 403).

In this context it is worth paying attention to the special Eurobarometer survey 54 (International Research Associates, 2001), which was focused on the language skills of European citizens and their attitudes towards language learning, its main findings being the following:

- 93% of parents say it is important that their children learn other European languages, especially in the new Länder of Germany (100%), Greece (98%) and Spain (96%), whereas on the other side of the coin 22% of Belgian parents state that language learning is not important.

- 72% of Europeans believe that knowing foreign languages is/would be useful for them, especially to improve job opportunities.

- 71% consider that everyone in the European Union should be able to speak one European language in addition to their mother tongue, and almost the same proportion of respondents believes that this should be English.

- 53% of Europeans say that they can speak at least one European language in addition to their mother tongue.

- 26% say that they can speak two European foreign languages.

These percentages show that there is still a long way to go to have the European Commissions' objective fulfilled, as roughly one quarter of European citizens can speak two foreign languages. Moreover, there are important differences between the different European States, as this knowledge is more common in places

such as Finland, but not so usual in other States such as Spain or Italy.

This boosting of multilingualism means that in all European bilingual areas students will have to deal with four languages in the curriculum: the minority and majority languages plus two Community languages. This is the case of the Basque Country, a bilingual community where both Basque and Spanish are official languages and therefore taught compulsorily in the three different linguistic models available.¹

It is widely believed that the learning of a foreign language from an early age brings about a better command of the language concerned, which is why the European Commission considers desirable to start its teaching at pre-school level, whereas the second Community foreign language should be learnt in secondary education. Thus, during the last few decades there has been a clear trend to lower the age at which the foreign language learning begins and, as a result of this situation, there is an increase in the number of years during which this learning is taking place.

Overall, English is most often spoken as a first foreign language in Europe and moreover it is learnt by almost 90% of European students (as a first, second or third foreign language), and this is specially so in the Basque Country and in the rest of Spanish bilingual (and monolingual) communities, where the hegemony of English is outstanding. In some Spanish communities pilot projects have been implemented enabling pupils to set out learning a foreign language, overwhelmingly English, before it becomes compulsory at the age of 8. In fact, Spain is the only European country where English as a foreign language is taught as early as the age of three or four (Eurydice, 2005). Although according to curricular requirements pupils have to start learning a foreign language from the age of 8 onwards, some Autonomous Communities have been able to begin from the age of 3 onwards. As a matter of fact, the vast majority of Basque schools have taken advantage of this possibility and are teaching English at nursery school.

One of the main worries concerning the learning of the foreign language has to do with the fact that Basque students end up their compulsory education with a rather poor command of English (Cenoz, 1991; Lasagabaster, 1998). In fact, a recent survey (Lasagabaster, 2003) carried out among 1,087 Basque University students, only 6% considered themselves as having a very good command of the English language. This percentage is undoubtedly very low, even more if it is taken into account that university students represent the elite of Basque students.

1 For further information on the Basque educational system see Gardner (2000) or Lasagabaster (2001).

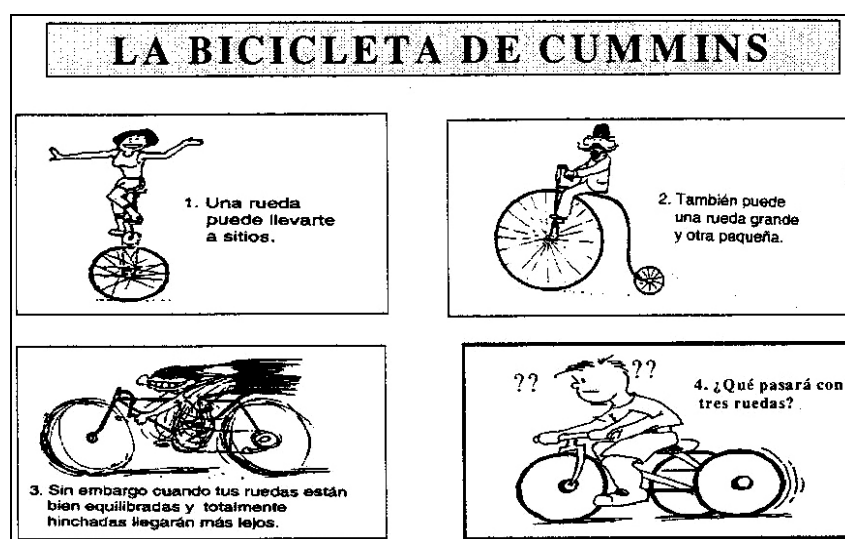


Fig. 1: Cummins's bicycle and early trilingualism (Etxeberria, 2002).
Sl. 1: Cumminsovo kolo in zgodna trojezičnost (Etxeberria, 2002).

Although in the Basque Country there is strong public support for this early learning, a reflection of the so-called *consensus view* (Singleton, 1995), some voices have complained about the risk it may entail, as they consider that the ever increasing role played by English could jeopardize all the efforts made so far to boost the presence of Basque in and out of the school, as the presence of two international languages (Spanish and English) from a very early age at school could become a stumbling block in the language revival process. Osa (2004, 134), despite acknowledging that multilingualism represents the future, puts it bluntly:

Basque has to become the main language in the school context and all linguistic planning should foster this condition. Nowadays, in many places, this is not the case at all. What's more, in order to avoid the negative effect of this foreign language learning on both the command of Basque and the attitudes towards the minority language, there is a need to stop the trend to foster the early learning of English, which entails a reduction of the space for Basque.

Etxeberria (2002), when tackling this early trilingualism at school, refers to Cummins's bicycle to make it clear that this early introduction of the foreign language has raised doubts about how effective it really is and how harmful it can be when it comes to the Basque language.

In this illustrative series of pictures Cummins utilizes the wheels of the bicycle as metaphors of the different languages and to summarize the effects of bilingualism (Cummins, 2001, 171). As can be seen in the first vignette, one wheel (that is to say, one language) can get the learner to different places, and so can a big wheel and a little wheel (second vignette). However, when the

learners' wheels are nicely balanced and fully inflated, they have the possibility of going further (third vignette), provided, of course, the people who made the wheels knew what they were doing: that is to say, if balanced bilingualism is encouraged and achieved. Nevertheless, and as can be seen in the last vignette, in this new trilingual context the question is what may happen if a third wheel is added: Are they too many wheels? Etxeberria (2004, 197) is highly critical of this early trilingualism:

There is no solid basis for justifying the introduction of such programmes at the nursery stage. None of the studies examined provide the slightest theoretical justification that these kinds of programmes can be carried out with a minimum guarantee of efficacy or success. I believe that there has been a kind of unjustified logical jump in assuming that all that is valid for bilingual education must also hold good for trilingual learning.

In any case it has to be pointed out that these critical voices are not dead set against the teaching of English, but rather consider its teaching should be put off, as this ever earlier teaching could have a negative impact on the learning of Basque. When dealing with trilingual education in the Basque Country, Cenoz (2002, 43) highlights that »the main obstacles that these programs face are related to the weak position of Basque in its sociolinguistic context and the status of English as a foreign language in the Basque Country.«

That is the reason why in this paper this issue will be analyzed by focusing on some of the few research studies on this issue available, in an attempt to shed some light on the controversy. Thus, we will firstly analyze the effect of this early teaching on language competence and secondly its impact on attitudes towards Basque.

THE EFFECT OF EARLY FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING ON LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

In this section the effect of exposure to English from an early stage on the other two languages (Basque and Spanish) will be analyzed. The Federation of *Ikastolak* (Basque schools where Basque is used as the means of instruction and Spanish is only taught as a subject) undertook research to evaluate the early project of multilingualism at several schools where children had started to learn English at the age of 4 since 1992 (Garagorri, 2002). In their studies they were supported by a group of researchers belonging to the University of the Basque Country when it came to designing the project and the tests used in the evaluation, as well as when analysing the results. The experimental group was made up of 195 students who were in the second year of Secondary education (13–14 year olds) and had been learning English for 10 years (since they were 4); the control group (154 students) were also 13–14 year olds and had started English classes at the age of 8, that is to say, four years later, as established by the Educational Reform of 1993. Both groups shared many characteristics, as all the schools involved followed the model D linguistic program (Basque is the vehicle language and Spanish is taught only as a subject) and the same educational and linguistic project, all of them having the same sociocultural level too. The participants took Basque, Spanish and cognitive development tests (the non-verbal cognitive ability was controlled by means of Raven's Progressive Matrices Test) from the start of their participation in the experimental program. The results obtained can be seen in the following figure:

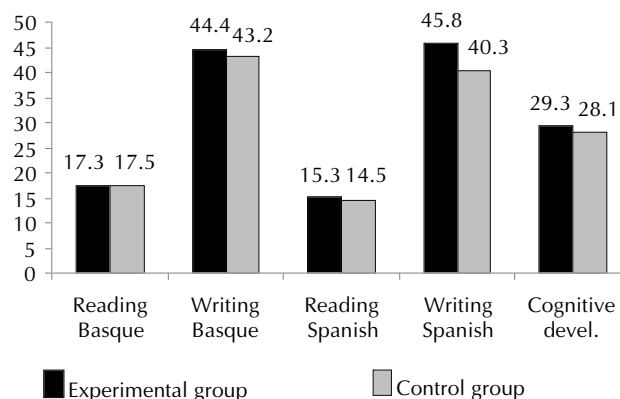


Fig. 2: Results in Basque, Spanish and cognitive development.

Sl. 2: Rezultati pri baskovščini, španščini in kognitivnem razvoju.

After ten years, and as hypothesized, no statistically significant differences were detected in either Spanish, Basque or cognitive development, which is why the group of researchers in charge of the study concluded that the early teaching of English did not hinder the normal development of the students, neither in Basque and Spanish, nor as for their cognitive development. Studies completed in Catalonia (Bernaus et al., 2004) also demonstrate that the learning of English as an L3 does not have any negative impact on the L1 and L2 (Catalan and/or Spanish).

The follow-up study by the Federation of Basque schools (Garagorri, 2002) also analysed the effect of early exposure on English language proficiency. As mentioned above, it has to be remembered that the ex-

Table 1: Group means and SDs obtained by the experimental and control groups on English (L3) tests (Garagorri, 2002).

Tabela 1: Povprečja in standardne deviacije za poskusno in kontrolno skupino pri angleških (L3) testih (Garagorri, 2002).

	Experimental group		Control group	
	Mean*	SD**	Mean	SD
Written production	8.93	4.15	5.62	4.47
Reading comprehension	8.62	3.91	6.90	4.52
Oral comprehension	15.76	5.15	11.90	6.42
First grammar test	9.47	2.88	7.10	3.38
Second grammar test	4.47	3.99	2.37	3.41
Oral production	13.10	4.84	9.48	4.94

*Mean: It is the most common type of average that is computed. It is the sum of all the values in a group, divided by the number of values in that group.

**SD: The standard deviation (abbreviated as SD) represents the average amount of variability in a set of scores, that is to say, the average distance from the mean. The larger the standard deviation, the larger the average distance each data point is from the mean of the distribution.

perimental group set out to learn English at the age of four in the 1992–1993 school year, whereas the control group started four years later. The sample was the same we described above when dealing with the effect on Basque, Spanish and cognitive development. As for English, the hypothesis stated that those who started at an earlier age (4 year olds) would obtain better scores than those who started at a later age (8 year olds), but under three main conditions: a) students should be taught English from the age of 4 till the end of compulsory education; b) both teachers and parents should hold positive attitudes towards the experimental programme; c) teachers should be trained and have the necessary teaching materials available (materials designed by the Federation of Basque schools). The independent variable was thus the age of first exposure to the foreign language (4 versus 8) and the dependent variable was the level of proficiency attained (the four language skills and grammar). The data was gathered in the 2000-01 school year, that is to say, the experimental group had been learning English for nine years, and the control group for five years. Table 2 apporitions the results obtained by the experimental and the control group in the different English tests (Table 1).

The table above clearly reveals that the experimental group outperformed the control group in every single English test, the difference being always some 25% in favour of the former. Moreover, these differences were especially significant in the case of the tests that are traditionally more difficult for the learner of an L2, that is to say, grammar (9.47 versus 7.10 in the first test and 4.47 versus 2.37 in the second), speaking (13.10 versus 9.48) and writing (8.93 versus 5.62). These results have been confirmed by another study completed in the Basque Country and focused on the writing skill (see Doiz, Lasagabaster, 2004). Therefore, it can be concluded that the early exposure to English does have a clear and positive impact on English proficiency and with regards to the four language skills and grammar.

THE EFFECT OF THE EARLY TEACHING OF ENGLISH ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

In the following lines a study (Lasagabaster, 2007) carried out in the Basque Country and whose participants were university undergraduates will be described. The participants were 222 university students who were enrolled in the Teacher Training Degree, which enables them to teach in Primary Education (6–12 year olds). Although all the subjects were completing the first year of their different degrees in Vitoria-Gasteiz, the political capital of the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), they came from the three provinces (Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa) of which the BAC consists. The mean age of the subjects was 20 years and regarding their specialization, 31.1% were studying Nursery Education, 28.4%

Primary Education and 40.5% Physical Education. As is usually the case among the would-be teachers, the vast majority of students were female (68.5%), whereas their male counterparts were just 31.5%. The distribution of the participants depending on their mother tongue can be seen in Figure number three.

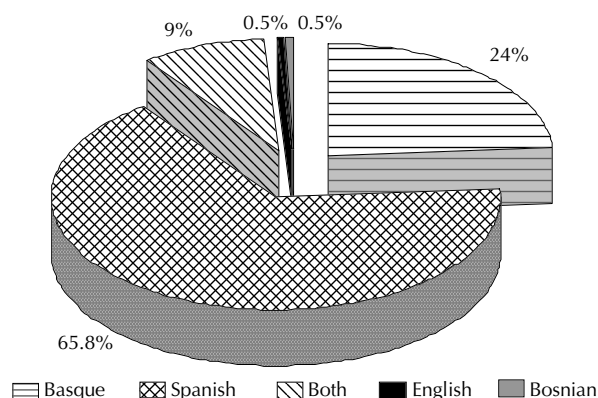


Fig. 3: The students' L1.
Sl. 3: Prvi jezik pri učencih.

Although almost a quarter of the future teachers' mother tongue was Basque, plus 9% who had both Spanish and Basque as L1, the majority of them had Spanish as L1 (65.8%). Two students were English and Bosnian respectively. In the case of the foreign language, 48.2% had started to learn English before the age of 8 (the majority of them at the age of 4) and the remaining 51.8% at the age of 8 or later. Last but not least, it has to be said that 32% of the students had been enrolled in model A (Spanish is the vehicle language and Basque is only taught as a subject) at pre-university levels, 13.1% in model B (both Basque and Spanish are vehicle languages) and more than half of the sample (55%) completed their studies in the more popular model D (Basque is the means of instruction and Spanish is only taught as a subject).

The participants completed a questionnaire on language attitudes based on Baker's (1992) and which had been previously used (Lasagabaster, 2003) in the Basque context. The final section of the instrument focused on language attitudes by means of the same ten items on a five-point Likert scale for each of the three compulsory languages in the Basque curriculum, namely, Basque, Spanish and English.

The attitudes towards each of the three languages in contact were codified in the following way: the option *Strongly Agree* (SA) was recoded as 100, the option *Agree* (A) as 75, *Neither Agree Nor Disagree* (NAND) as 50, *Disagree* (D) as 25, and *Strongly Disagree* (SD) as 0, a procedure already utilized in other studies (Lasagabaster et al., 2005). Once the results were codified, the average

for the ten items related to each language was obtained, which allowed us to distinguish three categories: (i) the first one was made up of *Unfavourable attitudes*, that is to say, those between 0.000 and 33.333; (ii) the second category comprised *Neutral attitudes*, for those whose scores were between 33.334 and 66.666; (iii) the third one consisted of those students who held *Favourable attitudes*, i.e. those between 66.667 and 100.000. In this way, we had at our disposal a *quantitative* variable (the average score for the ten items) which could also be used as *qualitative* (depending on their favourable, neutral or unfavourable attitudes).

In the following figure the effect of the early teaching of English on the attitudes towards Basque of this future teachers can be observed.

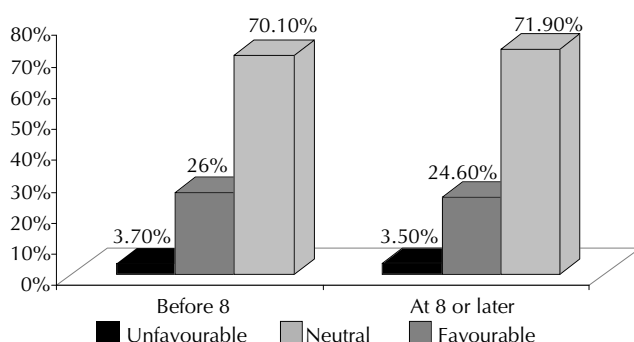


Fig. 4: Effect of the early exposure to English on attitudes towards Basque.

Sl. 4: Vpliv zgodnje izpostavljenosti angleščini na odnos do baskovščine.

The first outstanding fact has to do with the lack of negative attitudes towards Basque (below 3.8%) and the predominance of favourable attitudes (around 70%) in both groups. Furthermore, Figure 3 clearly shows that there is no significant difference in the participants' attitudes towards Basque irrespective of the age at which they started to learn English. This was borne out by the T-test performed which confirmed that there was no statistical difference between these two groups ($p = 0.332$). Therefore, these results seem to run counter to those voices which state that an early learning of English may negatively influence pupils' attitudes towards the minority language. Not only did this early teaching have no negative impact on their attitudes towards Basque, but it also favoured the level of proficiency attained in the foreign language. Thus, those who had started to learn it before the age of 8 considered that their competence was better than those who had learnt it for the first time at the age of 8 or later [$F_{1, 220} = 4.439$ ($p < 0.001$)], whereas curiously enough, no statistically significant differences were observed regarding their attitudes towards English.

CONCLUSIONS

The European Union intends to foster multilingualism as it will benefit all European citizens in the border-free single market, but this situation demands an extra-effort in all European bilingual contexts where a minority language is spoken, such as the Basque Country.

The Basque educational system has turned a monolingual system in which the presence of Basque was forbidden into a bilingual one in just 25 years. Since Basque acquired co-official status with Spanish in 1978, many efforts to revive the language have been made and the outcome has been particularly fruitful in the teaching world. Although the last two decades have seen a steady increase in the number of people who can and do speak Basque in their everyday life, especially among children and young people due to the ever more popular immersion programmes, Basque is still clearly a minority language. This is the reason why, as we have seen in the introduction, the early teaching of English is seen by some people as a potential risk to the maintenance of the minority language.

However, the few research studies available centered on the analysis of this question show that the early introduction of the foreign language has no negative effect on the normal cognitive development and on Basque and Spanish proficiency, whereas, as could be expected, the command of English improves significantly. Moreover, the attitudes towards Basque of those pupils who set out to learn English at the age of four are as favourable as those of the students who learnt it from the age of 8 onwards. Therefore, the conclusion to be drawn is that, although it is obvious that more research studies are needed, the results available so far seem to indicate that early trilingualism does not entail any disadvantage to the minority language, Basque in the Basque Country. Hence, the answer to our initial question would be that English and Basque are complementary languages in the Basque educational system, provided that at least some minimum conditions are met.

Finally, it is worth considering that the Department of Education of the Basque Government has decided to go even further and turn the bilingual system (in Basque and Spanish) into a trilingual one in the short run. In fact, during the 2003–2004 school year twelve trilingual experimental programmes were implemented in secondary education, in which Basque, Spanish and English will be used as means of instruction. These public schools join the private schools which are already carrying out trilingual experiences, but whose academic results are not habitually made public.

One exception is represented by the Federation of Ikastolak, which published recently a paper (Ikastolen Elkarteko Eleanitz-ingelesa taldea, 2003) showing that the teaching of Social Sciences through English does not hinder students from successfully explaining in Basque

the contents they had learnt in the foreign language, while the experimental group's (who was taught in English, their L3) command of the subject matter of Social Sciences was even better than that of the control group (taught in Basque, their L1 or L2). Cenoz (1998) also undertook a study in which the introduction of English as an additional language of instruction in a D model school was analyzed. This author concludes that, as expected, the use of English as a means of instruction has a positive effect on English proficiency and no negative influence on the development of Basque, Spanish and content.

The early learning of the foreign language and the, so far, scarce results available from these pilot programmes seem to indicate that the trilingual experiences are on the right track. If the European educational systems are to meet the trilingual objective set by the European Commission, the teaching of a foreign language as means of instruction seems to become indispensable (Lasagabaster, 2003). However, it seems obvious that there is a need to watch and research these trilingual programmes, so that those who are skeptical about the

potential language improvement in the foreign language and, above all, afraid of the potential negative effects on Basque (or on any other minority language) can be brought round by means of the results obtained in empirical studies. As Beetsma (2002, 9) points out:

Notwithstanding the increasing occurrence and often innovative character of trilingual primary schooling, research into this type of education is in its infancy and systematic knowledge about the phenomenon is not available until now.

There is no doubt that this is the only reasonable conclusion to be reached at this stage, although the results accessible so far allow us to be optimistic.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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BASKOVŠČINA KOT MANJŠINSKI JEZIK IN ANGLEŠČINA KOT TUJI JEZIK: ALI STA JEZIKA ZNOTRAJ BASKOVskega IZOBRAŽEVALNEGA SISTEMA KOMPLEMENTARNA?

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POVZETEK

Evropska komisija se je odločno zavzela za širjenje večjezičnosti in v tem duhu postavila cilj, da naj bi vsak državljan Evrope obvladal vsaj tri evropske jezike. Pot do tega cilja pa bo vendarle še dolga, saj dva tuja jezika trenutno govori zgolj četrtina Evropejcev. Vključevanje dveh tujih jezikov v učni načrt pomeni, da se bodo morali učenci, ki so vključeni v dvojezične izobraževalne sisteme, kot je na primer tisti v Baskiji (Španija), učiti kar štirih jezikov.

Eden od osrednjih ukrepov, ki izhaja iz ideje spodbujanja večjezičnosti, je pomikanje začetka učenja tujih jezikov v zgodnje otroštvo. To odraža tako imenovano konsenzualno stališče, ki je v ozadju širjenja ideje, da učenje tujega jezika od ranih let prinaša boljše obvladanje tega jezika. Pa vendar so se v Baskiji pojavila določena opozorila, da ni trdne osnove, s katero bi lahko upravičili vpeljevanje programov zgodnjega učenja že v vrtce. Da bi nekoliko osvetlili zgornjo polemiko, je v pričujočem članku podana analiza redkih dostopnih raziskav, izvedenih v Baskiji.

V prvi vrsti so v prispevku analizirani vplivi izpostavljenosti angleščini od ranega otroštva na kognitiven razvoj in na normalen razvoj drugih uradnih jezikov v Baskiji (baskovščine in španščine). Nato so skrbno preučena (jezikovna) stališča do vseh treh jezikov v učnem načrtu baskovskih šol (baskovščine, španščine in angleščine kot tujega jezika). Kaže, da rezultati potrjujejo tezo, da zgodnje uvajanje tujega jezika ne vpliva negativno na normalen kognitiven razvoj ali na razvoj obvladovanja baskovščine in španščine, medtem ko se obvladanje angleščine pri tem znatno izboljša. Nadalje, učenci, ki z učenjem angleščine začnejo zgodaj, do baskovščine izkazujejo enako naklonjenost kot tisti, ki se z angleščino srečajo kasneje.

Čeprav je potrebno izvesti še več dodatnih raziskav, lahko na podlagi doslej dostopnih rezultatov zaključimo, da zgodnje uvajanje trojezičnosti nima neugodnega vpliva na učenje manjšinskega jezika, v primeru Baskije torej baskovščine. Ti rezultati bi morali posledično pripomoči k zavračanju domnev o škodljivih učinkih zgodnjega uvajanja učenja tujega jezika.

Ključne besede: trojezičnost, manjšinski jezik, tuj jezik, baskovščina

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SPEAKER DIVERSITY IN THE MAJORITY-MINORITY LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the mechanisms underpinning diversity in speaker types in a minority linguistic context. The comparison of speaker diversity in three Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking) areas, Ros Muc in Connemara, County Galway, Ceathrú Thaidhg in County Mayo and Ráth Chairn in County Meath, provides an evaluation of how this diversity has effected the various linguistic networks in these communities. The three communities display different patterns in relation to issues of contact linguistics, exhibiting varying aspects of sociocultural fragility and language endangerment. The findings of this research suggest that the more varied and complex the contact dynamics are, the less vital the sociolinguistic basis to the use of Irish in the community will be. This comparative approach highlights the correlation between high levels of family-based language transmission and the viability of a minority language in the community's various social networks.

Key words: language dynamics, linguistic networks, speech communities, diversity of speaker types, speaker interaction, minority-majority sociolinguistic interaction, language contact, linguistic anthropology

LA DIVERSITÀ DEI PARLANTI NEL CONTESTO DELLE LINGUE MAGGIORITARIE E MINORITARIE

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza i meccanismi alla base della diversità nei tipi di parlanti in un contesto di minoranza linguistica. Il confronto tra le diversità di parlanti in tre aree 'Gaeltacht' (dove si parla il gaelico irlandese) – Ros Muc nel Connemara, nella contea di Galway, Ceathrú Thaidhg nella contea di Mayo e Ráth Chairn nella contea di Meath – fornisce una valutazione di come questa varietà ha influenzato le diverse reti linguistiche nelle comunità menzionate. Ciascuna delle tre comunità manifesta un modello diverso relativo alla questione di linguistica di contatto, con aspetti differenti di fragilità socioculturale e livello di pericolo di estinzione per la lingua in questione. I risultati di questa ricerca suggeriscono che più varia e complessa è la dinamica di contatto, meno vitali saranno le basi sociolinguistiche per l'uso del gaelico irlandese nella comunità. Questo approccio comparativo mette in risalto la correlazione tra gli alti livelli di trasmissione della lingua all'interno della famiglia e la vitalità della lingua minoritaria nelle varie reti sociali.

Parole chiave: dinamica linguistica, reti linguistiche, comunità linguistiche, diversità nei tipi di parlanti, interazione tra parlanti, interazione sociolinguistica tra la maggioranza e la minoranza, contatto linguistico, antropologia linguistica

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents sociolinguistic data from three contrasting Irish-speaking districts (Gaeltachtaí): Ráth Chairn, County Meath; Ros Muc, County Galway and Ceathrú Thaidhg, County Mayo. It aims to highlight issues of speaker diversity in these communities in order to understand the social mechanisms which determine language use in these minority language contexts. All three communities face challenges posed by contact issues and are linguistically endangered by their general societal relationship with the majority language, English. They also contend with contact issues generated in the interpersonal context of English speakers marrying into or setting up residence in the three areas. The findings of this research indicate a strong correlation between the level of family-generated speakers in a community and the vitality of Irish as a communal language. A corollary of this finding suggests that minority language communities become more reliant on institutional support to provide the linguistic context for minority language use as the speaker categories become more diverse in a linguistic community. In other words, as language communities become more complex and mixed they tend towards an institutionalisation of speaking, while the majority language increasingly colonises the communal and familial linguistic networks which operate independently of institutional input or interference.¹

While the communities under investigation in this study would primarily attach an ethno-linguistic meaning to the use of the term Gaeltacht, it also represents a statutory geographic entity in which certain administrative functions and responsibilities apply (Cf. Commins, 1988; Ó Riagáin, 1997, 49). Ráth Chairn is a small Gaeltacht community, situated in the eastern county of Meath consisting of seven townlands.² It was established as an Irish-speaking district between 1935 and 1937 when forty families from Conamara in Co. Galway settled in the area on farms acquired for them by the Land Commission, a state agency charged with land redistribution in the post-independence era. However, Ráth

Chairn was not granted official recognition as an official Gaeltacht region until 1967, following political agitation by the inhabitants.³ Ros Muc, on the other hand, is a coastal community of Conamara, County (Co.) Galway, in the west of Ireland, consisting of nine townlands. In contrast to Ráth Chairn, Ros Muc is a district of what could be termed the 'organic' Gaeltacht. Conamara in general withstood the language shift of the nineteenth century, to which Co. Meath had succumbed almost totally by the close of the 1800's. The native speakers of Irish from Conamara who established Ráth Chairn as an Irish-speaking district had to contend with the surrounding English-speaking community, while Ros Muc is part of the wider Irish-speaking community of Conamara. Similar to Ros Muc, the people of Ceathrú Thaidhg constitute an 'organic' Gaeltacht community dwelling in a coastal region of northwest Co. Mayo. However, unlike Ros Muc's relationship with the larger Irish-speaking community of the Conamara region, Ceathrú Thaidhg is part of the larger geographic area of lorras which has succumbed to a large extent to the pressures of language shift during the course of the twentieth century. Even though the lorras region is still officially recognised as a Gaeltacht region, the Ceathrú Thaidhg community perseveres in a similar linguistic context to that of the Ráth Chairn community in that they both represent islands of Irish-speaking in a predominantly English-speaking context of the broader geographic unit in which they exist.⁴

GATHERING THE DATA

The data presented here was gathered with the help of acquaintances in the three districts during various periods of field work between December 2001 and the summer of 2004. I chose Ráth Chairn (RC), Ros Muc (RM) and Ceathrú Thaidhg (CT)⁵ for the purposes of this comparative study because they are comparable in terms of geographic size and population, but with contrasting historical and geographical circumstances pertaining. This research identifies the RC community consisting of 426 people; that of RM comprising 461 peo-

1 Subsequent research, *Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht: Final Report* (Ó Giollagáin et al., 2007) has demonstrated that changes in the demographic make-up of the Gaeltacht population have contributed significantly to the sociolinguistic erosion of Irish in their traditional networks.

2 Townlands in Ireland refer to small historical subdivisions of land which make up electoral districts or baronies when combined with adjacent townlands.

3 Various aspects of the history of Ráth Chairn are discussed in Costigan/Ó Curraoin (1987, 28–32), Mac Donncha (1986, 120–134), Ó Ciosáin (1993, 154–167), Ó Conghaile (1986), Ó Giollagáin (1999, 203–204) and Stenson (1986, 107–118).

4 Hindley (1990, 134) dismisses the notion of the Ráth Chairn being an Irish-speaking community; Ó Giollagáin's (2002) discussion of the sociolinguistic make-up of the Ráth Chairn community arrives at a more circumspect judgement.

5 A more comprehensive discussion of my research in RC is presented in Ó Giollagáin (2002); in the case of RM in Ó Giollagáin (2005); a detailed presentation of the CT research is being currently prepared.

ple; and 360 people making up the CT community. This amounts to 128 households in the case of RC, 178 in RM and 119 in CT.⁶

The Ráth Chairn community is far more mixed, from a socioeconomic perspective, than that of Ros Muc or Ceathrú Thaidhg, and includes a significant middle-class element. While unemployment exists in all three communities, the numbers of unemployed in Ros Muc and Ceathrú Thaidhg represent a very significant portion of the local population, especially among middle-aged men. Ros Muc is an isolated, rural, disadvantaged community. Ceathrú Thaidhg is similarly an isolated rural district but the level of disadvantage is not as severe as is the case in Ros Muc because of the mix of economic activity in the area. While there is a relatively high level of dependency on social welfare assistance, household incomes in CT can be supplemented by seasonal fishing and earnings from agricultural activities on marginal holdings. In contrast to the two coastal communities, many of Ráth Chairn's population can aspire to a quasi-suburban lifestyle because of relative prosperity and proximity to the capital. Ráth Chairn, 55 kilometres from Dublin city, falls within the capital's commuter belt.

TERMINOLOGY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Native Speaker

The use of the term 'native speaker' (Nat. Sp.) here conforms to the generally accepted usage, that of a competent speaker of Irish who acquires the language within a familial/communal setting. The use of the term here also corresponds to the normal Gaeltacht understanding of a native speaker of Irish: a person of Gaeltacht origin who was raised through the medium of Irish in a Gaeltacht area.⁷

Neo-native Speaker

A neo-native speaker (Neo-nat.) also acquires the language in a familial/communal setting, but is the offspring of co-speakers of Irish who are not native speakers but speak Irish as their household language.

Semi-speaker

Semi-speakers (Semi-sp.) tend to emerge from a mixed linguistic environment where (i) one parent is a bilingual Nat. Sp. of Irish and the other is a monolingual speaker of English and when (ii) the Nat. Sp. speaks Irish productively to the children as a second household language. The use of the term 'semi-speaker' here differs to the manner in which Dorian (1981)⁸ and Fishman (1991)⁹ employ the term. Its use here is restricted to those who acquire a high level of linguistic competence primarily through familial/communal effort rather than solely relying on formal pedagogical or institutional support. The more competent speakers in this linguistic grouping acquire a competency akin to native speaker ability.

The term semi-speaker is another linguistic category which has undergone critical revision (Cf., for example, Baker, Prys Jones, 1998, 14; Edwards, 1994, 58; Martin-Jones, Romaine, 1986, 32; Romaine, 1995, 260; 2000, 234; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, 249),¹⁰ but is not employed here in a pejorative, semi-lingual sense. It indicates the complexity of the transmission process in a mixed sociolinguistic scenario where a minority language is partially transmitted in the familial/communal context against the backdrop of a general societal context where the major language is pervasive. Semi-speakers constitute a significant sociolinguistic category in that they have acquired a higher level of linguistic proficiency and experience greater familial back-up to

6 The individual data presented here mirrors the resident population of RM's nine townlands. The statistics for RC, however, do not include data from the entire geographic population; I have excluded data from about one hundred households mainly dwelling on the periphery of the official Gaeltacht who would be considered as part of the surrounding English-speaking Meath community rather than the participants in the RC community. The vast majority of these households would not have been part of the official Gaeltacht prior to the extension of the Gaeltacht boundaries in RC in 1982.

7 The notion of the native speaker has undergone some critical scrutiny recently (cf. for example Davies, 2003, 197), but it is employed primarily here to refer to the linguistic transmission of Irish in the familial context.

8 Cf. Dorian (1981, 106–107): »Unlike the older Gaelic dominant bilinguals, the semi-speakers are not fully proficient in Gaelic. They speak it with varying degrees of less than full fluency, and their grammar (and usually also their phonology) is markedly aberrant in terms of the fluent speaker norm.«

9 Fishman's (1991, 128) 'semi-speaker', a partially competent speaker, would be closer to the use of the term 'co-speaker' employed in this study.

10 This paper does not afford the scope to engage in adequate discussion of the concept of the semi-speaker, but much of the discussion has been characterised by an ideological distaste with the perceived pejorative nature of the term and with the notion of a socially biased concept of linguistic competence. However much of the discussion has failed to address adequately how semi-speakers operate in relation to the language dynamics which pertain to the minority/majority language contact issues, especially in the minority language community where the semi-speaker acquires his or her competence in the majority language more rapidly than competence in the minority language. I would suggest that such an analytical endeavour might yield a more fruitful line of enquiry for specialists in minority languages than focussing on perceived slights about a sociolinguistic pecking order.

act in accordance with the language dynamics of the native speakers of Irish, as opposed to the language use patterns of Gaeltacht co-speakers. The category of semi-speaker in general represents a half-way stage, both in terms of proficiency and language dynamics, between the native speaker and the co-speaker. Simply put, Gaeltacht semi-speakers do not participate in Irish-speaking linguistic networks in a similar fashion to that of either the native speakers or the co-speakers, and therefore they must be considered an independent sociolinguistic category. It is not unreasonable from an analytical perspective to identify them as a separate sociolinguistic category if, in general, they act and talk in a different manner to that of the other speaker categories.

Ambilingual Speaker

The term ambilingual is employed here to refer to speakers of Irish who, similar to the semi-speakers, emerge from a linguistically-mixed household, but where the use of English with the child by the English-speaking parent would be marginal in comparison with the manner in which Irish is used both in the household and in the extended family. In this scenario, the efforts of the Irish-speaking parent, mainly the mother, to rear the child through Irish are complimented by the assistance of other members of the extended family who have regular contact with the child. Ambilingual speakers can be distinguished from the semi-speakers in that they acquire a higher level of competency in Irish in a shorter period of time. In some cases of course, they can be indistinguishable from Gaeltacht native speakers because of the pervasive presence of English, especially in the social networks of the young in the Gaeltacht, partly due to the dominance of English in the media-assisted reproduction of various aspects Anglo-American culture directed at the young. When these pressures are combined with the more obvious social concerns of the native speakers who are attempting to establish their position vis-à-vis the other speaker categories in the social networks of the young, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the very concept of a (young) native speaker of Irish is, at best, a highly complex sociolinguistic category and, at worst, a gravely threatened sociocultural entity. It is now unusual in the present sociolinguistic environment to encounter a native speaker of Irish in the Gaeltacht who has not acquired a relatively competent fluency in English by the age of four/five. Additionally, many Gaeltacht parents of native speakers have asserted the claim, during the course of my research, that their children's ability in English surpasses their ability in Irish, their household language, by the time they are

eleven/twelve years old. In other words, the conditions of recessive bilingualism prevail in the case of the native language; linguistic attrition in terms of a speaker's competence is mirroring the social marginalisation of the category of native speaker in the Gaeltacht.

Of the three areas studied here, this category of ambilingual speakers is only identified in Ceathrú Thaidhg.¹¹

Co-speaker

Co-speakers (Co-sp.) acquire Irish through some method of formal instruction, mainly by means of the Irish-medium school system in the three areas. Co-speakers differ from the previous categories of speakers in that their competency in the language is achieved primarily outside the familial/communal context. It generally requires three or four years of formal schooling for the co-speaker to acquire a comfortable level of fluency to facilitate interaction in Irish with the other speaker categories.

English speaker

English speakers referred to in this study are native speakers of English with no (or a very limited) competency in Irish. A few non-nationals who are all competent speakers of English reside in all three areas and some have also achieved a fluency in Irish. I have also included a small category of learners of Irish in the case of RC who have acquired a partial fluency in the language. This category is almost entirely composed of adult learners attending language courses organised by Comharchumann Ráth Chairn.¹²

INDIVIDUAL DATA

Linguistic Competencies in RC, RM and CT

Fig. 1 below indicates the comparative linguistic competencies that exist in RC, RM and CT. Linguistically, RM is a far less complex community than the other two communities with 82.2% of the people surveyed being native speakers. The other categories in RM amount to: Neo-nat.: 0.7%; Semi-sp.: 1.3%; Co-sp.: 8.7%; Eng. Sp.: 7.2%. Ceathrú Thaidhg's native speaker population represents 46.9% of the total population. When this category of speaker is combined with the other categories in CT: Ambiling.: 3.6%; Semi-sp.: 21.4%; Co-sp.: 12.5%; Eng. Sp.: 15.6%, we are presented with a more complex community from a sociolinguistic perspective than the speaker configurations in RM.

11 Cf. Halliday et al (1977, 142): 'Some bilingual speakers, including some who are ambilingual, can be said to have two (occasionally more) native languages'.

12 The community co-operative organisation in RC.

Comparable percentages for RC present an even more mixed and complex linguistic scenario, with the three categories of Nat. Sp. (28.9%), Co-sp. (24.6%) and Eng. Sp. (28.6%) being of similar proportions. Neo-nat. represent 4.9%; Semi-sp. 8.2% and Learners 4.7%.

Linguistic Profile by Age for Ráth Chairn, Co. Meath

A detailed discussion of the data of RC's linguistic profile is not feasible within the scope of this paper, but three readily recognisable sociolinguistic features of the RC community can be clearly identified in the data: (i) monolingual English speakers exist in every age cohort and are a significant section of the overall community, as we have seen above, at 29% of the speakers surveyed in RC; (ii) while native speakers of Irish are the largest categories of speakers overall, the community has an obvious difficulty in reproducing their numbers in the younger cohorts, as evinced in the first four data bars (the childhood/adolescent cohorts),¹³ where native speakers only represent 13% of the total in these four cohorts; (iii) co-speakers, at 41%, are the most productive category in the four youngest cohorts and the data for this category, especially in the primary and second-

dary cohorts, indicates a level of institutional success on the part of the Irish-medium school in the area in producing Irish-speakers.¹⁴ English-speakers amount to 23% of the total in the four youngest cohorts.

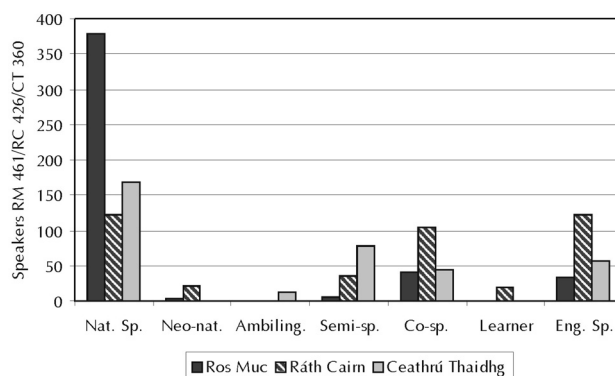
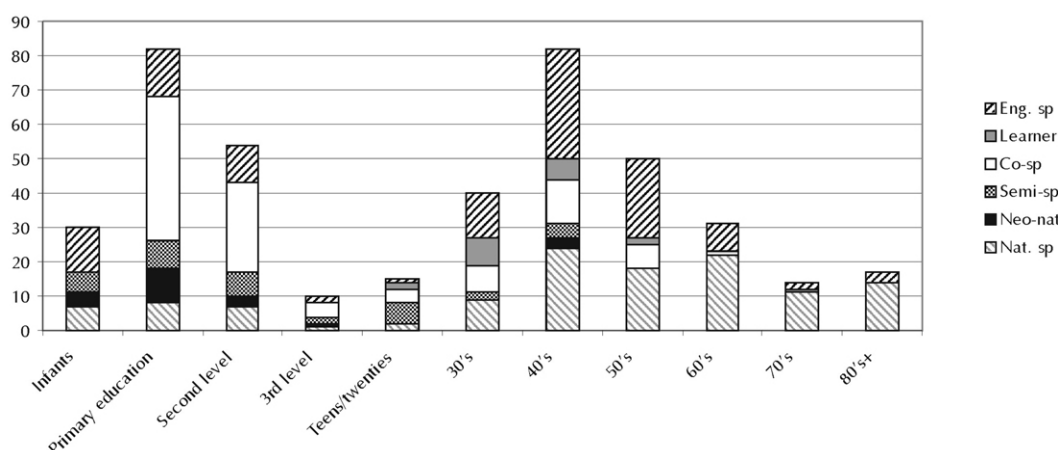


Fig. 1: Ros Muc/Ráth Chairn/Ceathrú Thaidhg: Linguistic competence.

Sl. 1: Ros Muc/Ráth Chairn/Ceathrú Thaidhg: Jezikovne kompetence.



	Infants	Primary education	Second level	3 rd level	Teens/twenties	30's	40's	50's	60's	70's	80's+
Nat. sp	7	8	7	1	2	9	24	18	22	11	14
Neo-nat.	4	10	3	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Semi-sp	6	8	7	2	6	2	4	0	0	0	0
Co-sp	0	42	26	4	4	8	13	7	1	0	0
Learner	0	0	0	0	2	8	6	2	0	1	0
Eng. sp	13	14	11	2	1	13	32	23	8	2	3

Fig. 2: Ráth Chairn: Linguistic Profile by Age.

Sl. 2: Ráth Chairn: Jezikovni profil glede na jezik.

¹³ The '3rd level' bar refers to teenagers and people in their twenties involved in third level education and the 'teens/twenties' bar represents the data of those in the same age group who are no longer engaged in formal education.

¹⁴ It is possible for children living within the official Gaeltacht boundaries to attend English-medium schools in the surrounding region.

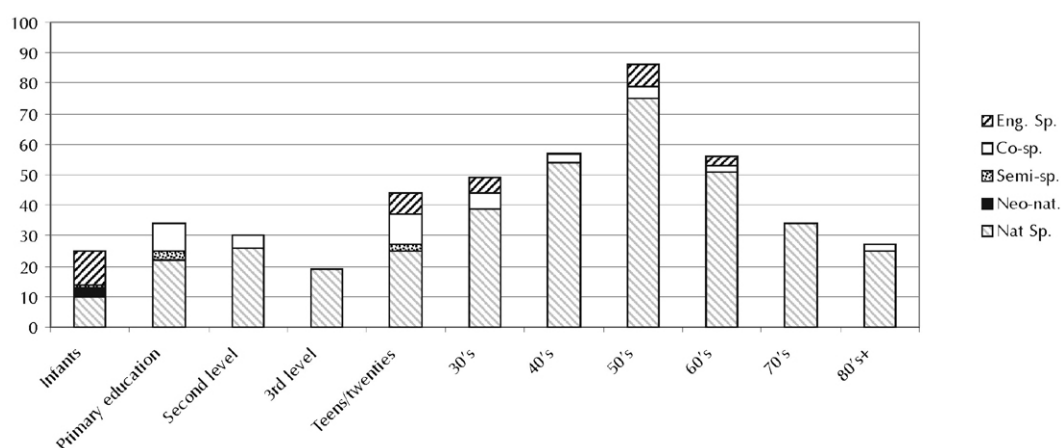


Fig. 3: Ros Muc: Linguistic Profile by Age.

Sl. 3: Ros Muc: Jezikovni profil glede na jezik.

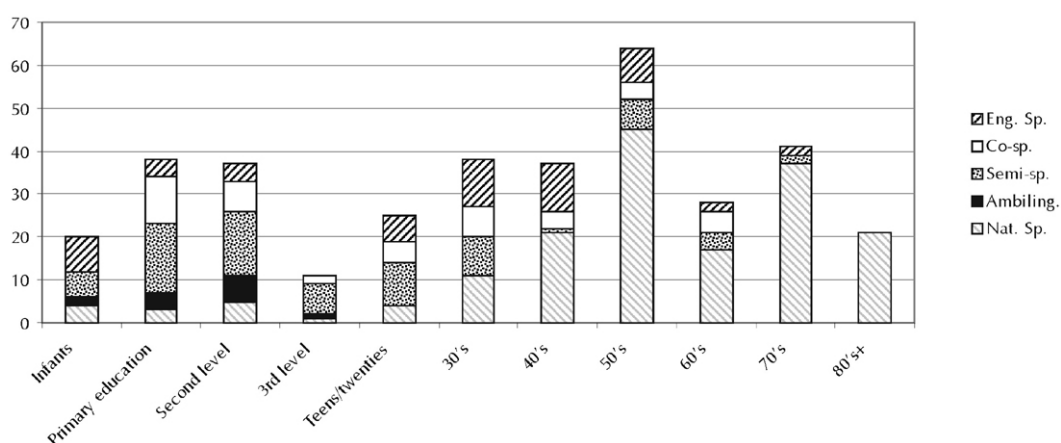
Linguistic Profile by Age for Ros Muc, Co. Galway

The data from RM's linguistic profile indicates clearly a major social difficulty and highlights an emerging sociolinguistic challenge to this predominantly Irish-speaking community. The RM data for the four youngest cohorts would suggest that the community has to contend with the social fall-out of significant demographic decline in the area. An obvious negative sociolinguistic consequence of this decline can be seen in the data for RM's infant cohort, where monolingual English-speakers outnumber the native speakers of Irish in this cohort (Eng. Sp. – 44%; Nat. Sp. – 40%). However, unlike RC, the school-going categories indicate that RM succeeds in diminishing English monolingualism completely in the case of school children. In addition to the socioeconomic and demographic difficulties, the RM community now sees itself confronted with major sociolinguistic challenges despite not having concentrated to the same extent as the RC community on developing communal and co-operative structures and resources.

Linguistic Profile by Age for Ceathrú Thaidhg, Co. Mayo

The data by age profile for Ceathrú Thaidhg indicates that the community there is also experiencing demographic decline, though not as severely as is the case in

the Ros Muc context. The general pattern in CT emerging from this profile is that the sociolinguistic make-up of the community becomes more mixed as the focus descends through the various age groups. From the fifties age-group down, the native speaker proportion of each age cohort becomes less significant in relation to the community's speaker configurations. Worryingly for the sociolinguistic prospects of CT as an Irish-speaking community, the number of monolingual English speakers in the infant cohort is twice that of the Irish native speakers and they still outnumber the native speakers when the native speakers are combined with the ambilingual speakers of Irish. The category of semi-speaker is the most significant category of the four youngest age groups (infants – third level students) at 42% of this section of the community. This statistic indicates a strong adherence to the Gaeltacht heritage of Ceathrú Thaidhg in the linguistically mixed households, but productive use of Irish among the semi-speakers seems to be almost exclusively restricted to the familial context and the institutional setting of the Irish-medium primary school in the area. Even for the native speaker and the ambilingual speaker, Irish-speaking networks have not emerged among the young to facilitate productive use of Irish beyond the home and the school. Similar to RC and RM, the school provides the only Irish-speaking domain for the vast majority of CT's co-speakers. The evidence in CT suggests that, despite the familial transmission of Irish (however mixed or partial) in the case of the semi-speakers, they operate in



	Infants	Primary education	Second level	3 rd level	Teens/ Twenties	30's	40's	50's	60's	70's	80's+
Nat. Sp.	4	3	5	1	4	11	21	45	17	37	21
Ambiling.	2	4	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Semi-sp.	6	16	15	7	10	9	1	7	4	2	0
Co-sp.	0	11	7	2	5	7	4	4	5	0	0
Eng. Sp.	8	4	4	0	6	11	11	8	2	2	0

Fig. 4: Ceathrú Thaidhg: Linguistic Profile by Age.

Sl. 4: Ceathrú Thaidhg: Jezikovni profil glede na jezik.

a similar fashion to the area's co-speaker in relation to the manner in which English is established as the language of the social networks of the young. The native and ambilingual speaker categories are too small as a proportion of the younger age groups to be able to influence the language of their social networks effectively.

The obvious challenge for the Gaeltacht community in CT is to devise social strategies to encourage the young to become productive users of Irish within their own age group. The school successfully provides a setting for the use of Irish in an institutional context and succeeds in assisting the pupils who did not acquire Irish at home to become competent co-speakers of the language. The growing proportion of semi-speakers in the community could, from an international perspective, be viewed as evidence of language shift pressures, but locally it displays adherence to the ethnolinguistic concept of a Gaeltacht community despite the mixed familial context and the cultural pressures from the majority language, English. However, the language use patterns based on the speaker configurations presented here require that the CT community will have to consciously address the issue of the lack of the productive use of Irish among the young. The mixed familial transmission processes, combined with strong institutional support from the primary school, are not adequate to the task of preserving the distinctive linguistic aspects of Ceathrú Thaidhg Gaeltacht heritage.

Regional Background of Speakers Surveyed in RC, RM and CT

The following figure indicates the regional background of all the speakers surveyed in the three areas irrespective of linguistic competence. The RM data in this regard indicates a highly homogeneous community with 91% of the RM community either being natives of Ros Muc or of the surrounding Conamara community. RC is much more varied in this regard. The data here for RC helps, to some extent, to unravel the linguistic complexity of the area. In the case of the RC community as identified here, 43% are RC natives of Conamara ancestry, 26% can trace their origins to the English-speaking Meath community; and residents in RC of neither Gaeltacht, RC nor Meath origin (non-local) amount to 21% of the community there. The data on the background of the CT community resembles the homogeneous nature of the RM community with 84% of the people surveyed in this study being natives of CT. When this percentage is combined with CT residents originally from the wider Iorras region, the percentage rises to 93% of the residents having origins in the local region. However, since RM is part of the larger Irish-speaking region of Conamara, CT would be more linguistically isolated in that Iorras is now largely an English-speaking region.

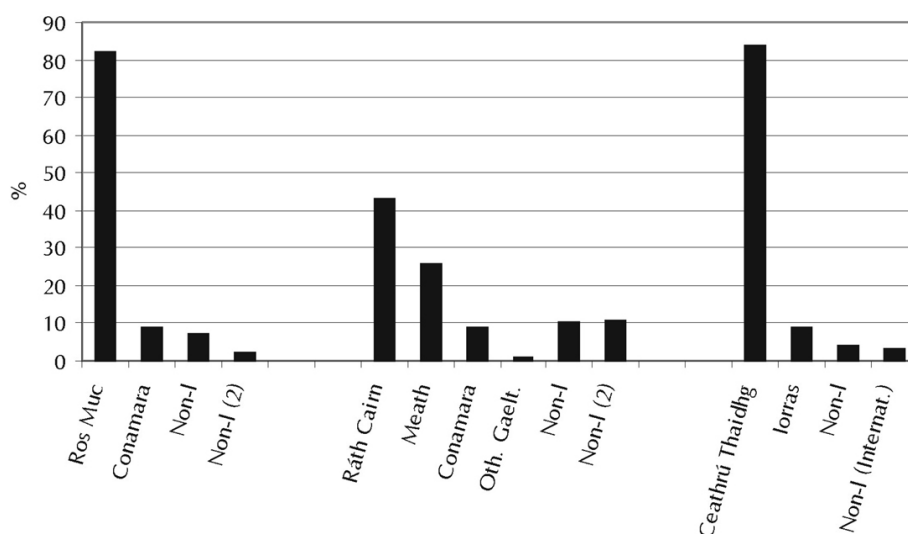


Fig. 5: Regional Background of Speakers.
Sl. 5: Regionalno ozadje govorcev.

HOUSEHOLD DATA

Profile of Household Language for Ráth Chairn

While in overall terms, Irish-speaking households amount to 47% of all the households, the percentage breakdown for the critical ‘family’¹⁵ category, from a sociolinguistic perspective, portrays a more problematic statistical comparison for RC as a designated Irish-speaking district or an official Gaeltacht. The English-speaking households (34% of the total households) in

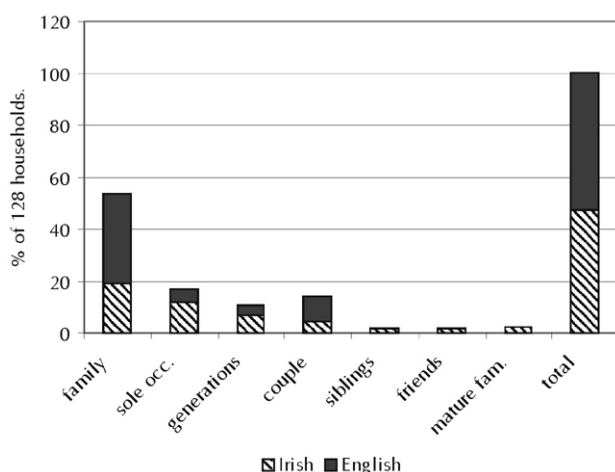


Fig. 6: Ráth Chairn: Household language.
Sl. 6: Ráth Chairn: Jezik gospodinjtva.

this ‘family’ category are far more numerous than their Irish-speaking equivalents at 19% of the total households surveyed in RC. The significance of the ‘sole occupancy’ category to the configuration of Irish-speaking households skews the picture somewhat. These households are predominantly made up of elderly people living alone. The Irish-speaking percentage for this category represents 12% of the total, while 5% is the equivalent English-speaking figure. English is clearly the dominant household language in RC, especially in the critical ‘family’ category, from which RC’s youngest generation is emerging. Approximately a third of the children the Irish-speaking ‘family’ category are being raised as semi-speakers.

A perusal of the household data for RC in conjunction with the individual speaker data indicates that the school-reliant generation of co-speakers of Irish is much more prevalent than the home-based transmission of Irish. Despite the growing institutionalisation of Irish in RC, Irish-speaking networks can be found in RC in the various age cohorts. They are marginal, however, in the social networks of people younger than forty. It would be considered unusual in the Gaeltacht context for Irish-speaking networks to exist at all among the young in a community where the family-based transmission has become limited to a minority of the community. They exist in RC, however, because the community has, by necessity, become linguistically politicised by the requirements of preserving their linguistic heritage in a challenging minority setting. Conscious efforts are being

15 The data category ‘family’ for the purposes of this study refers to a nuclear family with offspring engaged in any of the three levels of formal education. The category ‘generations’ is predominantly constituted of mature household units consisting of an elderly parent sharing a house with unmarried mature offspring, but households consisting of three generations and single parent families are also included in this category.

made in RC to foster the communal use of Irish. However, it is difficult to envisage how the efforts will bear fruit in a sociolinguistic sense if the issue of the continuing contraction of the family-based transmission is not adequately addressed.

Profile of Household Language for Ros Muc

The household language data for Ros Muc displays a more robust Irish-speaking configuration in comparison to RC, but ominously the predominantly middle-aged/elderly 'sole occupancy' category – 28% of the total households, although entirely Irish-speaking, corresponds almost exactly in percentage terms to the 'family' category (both Irish and English-speaking), at 29% of the total. English-speaking 'families' constitute 7% of the total for RM in comparison to the Irish-speaking 'families' who make up 22% of the total households.¹⁶ Despite the relatively low proportion of English-speaking households, 18% of the households surveyed in RM across all the categories, English-speaking networks are noticeably rooted in the pre-school and the primary level children's age group. The evidence here is indicating that the RM community is at a critical sociolinguistic stage in that the conditions for language shift are being established by a relatively small proportion of households in which English predominates. The English-speaking households in the critical 'family' category, despite being significantly smaller in the communal context than their Irish-speaking counterparts, exert a disproportionate influence on the way the language networks of the young are established because native speakers of Irish become functionally bi-lingual at a much more rapid rate than the native speakers of English in the Gaeltacht. In many cases, Gaeltacht native speakers of Irish have acquired a relatively competent fluency in English by the time they enter the primary school for a plethora of reasons, mainly due to the dominance of English in the wider society, especially in the media. Thus, in many ways, the formation of English-speaking networks among Gaeltacht children simply mirrors the general minority language condition of deferring to the sociolinguistic culture of the majority language where contact issues arise. The immediate challenge for the RM community is to creatively engage with these contact issues, especially in relation to the formation of the social networks of the young. A reliance on Irish-medium schooling in the area to address these complex sociolinguistic considerations would simply be a superficial response to a much more complex and deeper phenomenon.

Profile of Household Language for Ceathrú Thaidhg, Co. Mayo

On a superficial level of analysis the household language data portray a relatively positive sociolinguistic profile: the Irish-speaking and the semi-speaking/ambilingual households amount to 73% of the total across all household categories, but, similar to the household profile in RM, the predominantly elderly 'sole occupancy' (18%) Irish-speaking households represent the largest household type in CT. The semi-speaking¹⁷ 'family'

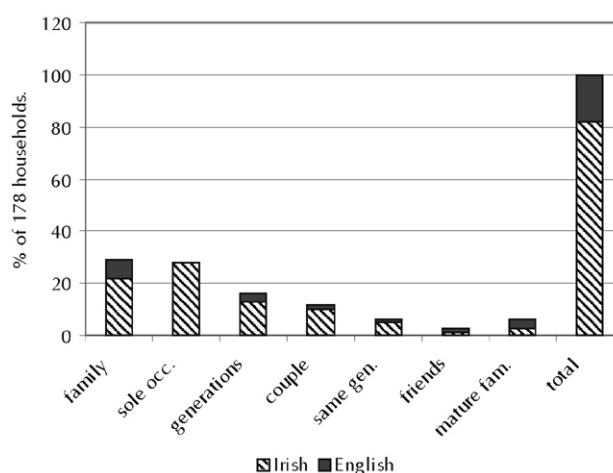


Fig. 7: Ros Muc: Household language.
Sl. 7: Ros Muc: Jezik gospodinjtva.

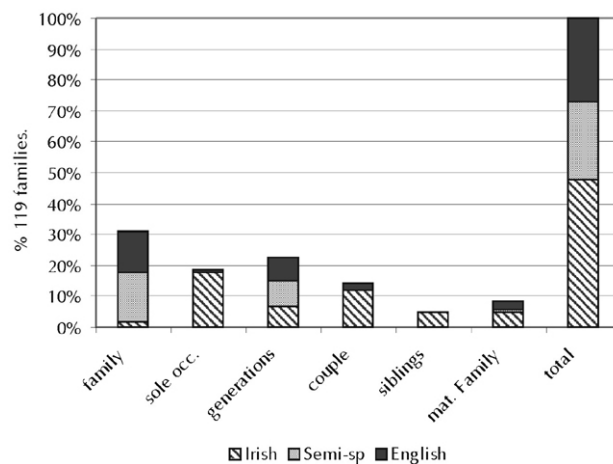


Fig. 8: Ceathrú Thaidhg: Household language.
Sl. 8: Ceathrú Thaidhg: Jezik gospodinjtva.

¹⁶ Semi-speaking is confined to three households in the 'family' category in RM.

¹⁷ A semi-speaking category is displayed here for the CT household language data because of its significance to general sociolinguistic profile of the area. Semi-speaking constitutes a more marginal category in RC and especially in RM.

households (16%) constitute the next largest household category. English-speaking ‘family’ households constitute the third largest (12%) household category, with only 2% of the households belonging to the Irish-speaking ‘family’ category. The English-speaking ‘family’

CONCLUSIONS

A detailed discussion of the implications of this research cannot be presented here due to considerations of space. However, an examination of the data in the three areas (RC, RM, and CT) indicates high levels of competence in Irish if the various capable speaker types are aggregated (Nat. Sp.; Neo-nat. Sp.; Semi-sp.; Ambiling. Sp. and Co-sp.). Competent speakers of Irish correspond to 93% of the community population in RM, 85% in CT and 67% in RC. From an international perspective on minority languages, such percentages referring to linguistic ability would be considered relatively high. The brief profiles of the linguistic make-up of the various social networks indicate that Irish-speaking networks exist in all three areas, but that only one of them, RM, could be categorised as a transgenerational Irish-speaking community. However, even in RM the formation of Irish-speaking networks in the young age cohorts is becoming increasingly problematic and marginal. CT’s profile indicates a minority language community where Irish-speaking networks are almost exclusively restricted to the middle-aged and elderly age cohorts. The use of Irish among the younger age cohorts in CT is manifested in non-communal contexts, such as the institutional school setting, or limited to use in the home (mainly in a mixed semi-speaking context). RC’s profile portrays a similar contrast between language use patterns in the younger and older age cohorts, but it also indicates an even more significant institutionalised aspect to the use of Irish among the young in that co-speakers are by far the most numerous speaker category among the younger age cohorts.

These language profiles and the comparatively high levels of linguistic ability in Irish in these three communities pose the question: why is the use of Irish in these communities becoming a marginal endeavour? The data here suggest that minority language communities require a very high level of family-based language transmission in a particular locality in order to withstand the sociolinguistic pressures the majority language speakers exert on the social networks. Extrapolating from the Gaeltacht context, minoritised languages clearly exhibit extreme fragility when in contact with the majority language. Even low levels of social integration of the majority language, especially in family-based transmission in a given area, can disproportionately support the for-

households correspond to 44% of the ‘family’ category. These percentage comparisons indicate that the non-institutional use of Irish in CT is in general limited to the middle-aged and elderly population cohorts and to the family-based semi-speaking contexts among the young. formation of majority language networks (English-speaking networks in the case of the Gaeltacht). In other words, for minority-language communities to maintain their sociolinguistic networks across the full spectrum of age cohorts, they require a concentrated level of family-based transmission. Efforts to integrate majority/minority languages at community level appear to be counter-productive towards the maintenance of the minority language networks. In such a mixed context, the majority language tends to dominate in the formation of linguistic networks. Put simply, the emergence of majority-language social networks in a minority-language district progresses in a fashion consistent with the colonising dynamic: a small foothold of majority-language family-based language transmission in an area can rapidly transform the language dynamics of the young.

As the social marginalisation of the minority language increases, the community rapidly arrives at a sociolinguistic watershed where the communal link between the use of the language in the home and in the community is broken. In this context, the circumstances for the socialisation of the minority language in the community becomes recessive for those who have been socialised in the minority language in the home, with the minority language no longer possessing the communal mechanism to socialise the area’s population through the medium of their historical language.

The integration of the majority language in these Gaeltacht communities has resulted, not in the fostering of a bilingual community, but in the marginalisation of the use of the minority language, even though ability in the minority language remains relatively high. The increasing integration of the majority language in the communal socialisation processes results in the displacement of the minority language in these socialisation processes, and this effect increases as we descend through the age cohorts. It is evident from this study that minoritised speech communities tend towards an institutionalisation of speaking as they become more complex/mixed. The emergence of co-speakers in RC and semi-speakers in CT, however competent, as significant speaker categories has clearly not impeded the emergence of highly productive and dominant majority-language speaker networks. The challenge for the three Gaeltacht communities studied here is to create the sociolinguistic conditions in which the re-socialisation of Irish can occur.

RAZNOLIKOST GOVORCEV V MANJŠINJSKO-VEČINSKEM JEZIKOVNEM KONTEKSTU

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POVZETEK

V prispevku je predstavljen poskus razvoja analitičnega okvira, s pomočjo katerega bi lahko bolje razumeli mehanizme, ki podpirajo raznolikost tipov govorcev v kontekstu manjšinskega jezika. Načini, na katere ti različni tipi govorcev interagirajo z lastno skupnostjo in z večinsko jezikovno skupnostjo, nakazujejo potrebo po večplastnem pristopu k zadevam, ki se tičejo jezikovnega načrtovanja. Študija predstavlja analizo raznolikosti govorcev, ki se pojavljajo na treh (irsko govorečih) območjih ali Gaeltacht, Ros Muc v Conamari v grofiji Galway, Ceathrú Thaidhg v grofiji Mayo in Ráth Chairn v grofiji Meath, ter ponuja oceno o vplivu te raznolikosti na različna jezikovna omrežja v dotičnih skupnostih in preko njih na vitalnost irščine kot skupnega jezika.

Tri skupnosti izkazujejo različne vzorce v odnosu do problemov, ki zadevajo bilingvalni sociolingvistični kontakt, in različne spremenljive vidike socialno-kulturne krhkosti in jezikovne ogroženosti. Izsledki pričujoče študije nakazujejo, da bolj kot je dinamika stikov raznolika in kompleksna, manj vitalna bo sociolingvistična podlaga za uporabo manjšinskega jezika v skupnosti (v primeru Gaeltacht torej uporaba irščine). Primerjalni pristop osvetljuje korelacijo med visoko ravni prenosa manjšinskega jezika znotraj družine in vitalnostjo manjšinskega jezika v različnih socialnih omrežjih v skupnosti. Dodatni izsledki študije nakazujejo, da z naraščanjem raznolikosti kategorij govorcev uporaba manjšinskega jezika v skupnosti nagiba k institucionalizaciji, na primer k uporabi v šolah.

Izsledki te študije osvetljujejo zanimiv pojav, ki bi mu lahko rekli sociolingvistični paradoks: skupnost Ráth Chairn, kjer v prizadevanja za ohranjanje jezika vlagajo največ naporov in kjer je ozaveščenost glede jezikovne politike in lingvistične ideologije med predstavniki skupnosti največja, je v sociolingvističnem oziru manj uspešna kot skupnost Ros Muc, kjer se prav nasprotno soočajo z večjimi socialno-ekonomskimi izzivi kot v skupnosti Ráth Chairn. Nadalje, skupnost Ceathrú Thaidhg z ozirom na vitalnost izkazuje drugačne probleme kot drugi dve območji. Za razmeroma ugodnim družbeno-gospodarskim profilom Gaeltacht Ráth Chairn ta skupnost skriva večje težave, povezane z družbeno krhkostjo in jezikovno ogroženostjo. V nasprotju s tem se zdi zastarelost jezika, s katero se soočajo v skupnostih Ros Muc in Ceathrú Thaidhg, na prvi pogled sicer manj resna, a je prepletena in prikrita z nečim, kar bi lahko razumeli kot bolj pereči problemi socialno-ekonomskega zaostanka in obrobnosti. Pričujoči raziskovalni projekt nakazuje, da načrtovanje jezikovnih intervencij na institucionalni ravni ne zagotavlja mehanizma, ki bi odtehtal šibkost pri prenašanju manjšinskega jezika v domačem okolju, in ne vzpostavlja družbenih razmer za njegovo uporabo v skupnosti.

Ključne besede: jezikovna dinamika, lingvistična omrežja, govorne skupnosti, raznolikost tipov govorcev, interakcija govorcev, manjšinsko-večinska sociolingvistična interakcija, jezikovni kontakt, lingvistična antropologija

ABBREVIATIONS

Nat. Sp.	Native Speaker
Neo-nat.	Neo-native Speaker
Ambiling.	Ambilingual Speaker
Semi-sp.	Semi-speaker
Co-sp.	Co-speaker
Eng. Sp.	English Speaker
Gaelt.	Gaeltacht/Irish-speaking Districts
Non-l.	Non-local
Non-l. (Internat.)	Non-local (International)
Non-l.(2)	Offspring of Non-local
CT	Ceathrú Thaidhg, Co. Mayo
RC	Ráth Chairn, Co. Meath
RM	Ros Muc, Co. Galway

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EXPERIENCE MATTERS. YOUNG ITALIANS' ACCOUNTS OF VIRGINITY LOSS

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ABSTRACT

The article is based on quantitative and qualitative data from a study carried out in 2006, entailing a survey on a sample in quotas of 1000 young people representative of a population aged between 18–29 and resident in Piedmont, and 51 biographical interviews with young people between the ages of 18 and 34. The article shows how the exploration of the theme of virginity provides a perspective for analysing the ways in which Italian young people construct the meaning of their first sexual experiences and combine conformity, negotiation and resistance in terms of both traditional conceptions of sexuality, and visions of masculinity and femininity.

Key words: young people, gender, sexuality, virginity, double standard

L'ESPERIENZA CONTA. GIOVANI ITALIANI RACCONTANO LA PERDITA DELLA VERGINITÀ

SINTESI

L'articolo si basa su dati quantitativi e qualitativi provenienti da una ricerca condotta nel 2006, che comprendeva un'inchiesta su un campione per quote di 1000 soggetti rappresentativo della popolazione giovanile di età 18–29 anni residente in Piemonte e 51 interviste biografiche a giovani dai 18 ai 34 anni. L'articolo mostra come l'esplorazione del tema della verginità offra una prospettiva di analisi dei modi in cui i giovani italiani costruiscono il significato delle loro prime esperienze sessuali e si muovono fra conformità, negoziazione e resistenza rispetto ad una concezione tradizionale sia della sessualità sia della maschilità e della femminilità.

Parole chiave: giovani, genere, sessualità, verginità, doppio standard

The twentieth century was a period of major changes for all Western nations, including in terms of sexuality.¹ As a country Italy noticeably lags behind when it comes to systematic scientific exploration of this aspect of social life.²

One of the most regulated aspects of sexual behaviour regards the establishment of timescales and contexts within which to legitimately have sexual relations. In this regard one factor that distinguishes Italy on the international scene is the more marked persistence of the so-called »double standard«, namely the continued existence of different criteria to assess male and female sexual behaviour, criteria which are more restrictive for women and more tolerant for men,³ based on the assumption that men have stronger, less controllable sexual urges than women.⁴

The norms regarding virginity are an emblematic example of the application of sexual double standards: while women were expected to »remain pure« for their husbands, men were permitted, or even encouraged, to experiment sexually with partners other than their future wives, women who were sexually accessible because categorized as »easy« or selling their bodies.⁵

Driven by the student and feminist movements of the 1970s, the sexual revolution heralded a change in sexual customs in Italy too. This initially affected behaviour and representations of female sexuality, acknowledging female desire and pleasure, and then extended to a more comprehensive redefinition of sexuality in terms of the couple and the marital relationship, in a model of intimacy based on the negotiation of sexual rules and the meanings of life-as-a-couple from an egalitarian point of view.⁶

In terms of this change in sexual culture,⁷ by taking the results of a recent study on the sexual lifestyles of young people conducted in Piedmont, this article will show how the exploration of the theme of virginity pro-

vides a perspective for analysing the ways in which young people construct the meaning of their first sexual experiences and combine conformity, negotiation and resistance in terms of both traditional conceptions of sexuality and visions of masculinity and femininity.

METHODOLOGY

The article relies on data from a recent empirical study (indicated in this article as ISP 2006 – »Indagine sulla sessualità in Piemonte«), which was carried out in 2006 with funding from the Regional Council's Department for Culture. This study entailed a multi-method approach, mixing quantitative and qualitative research techniques.⁸

A survey, in the form of a two-part questionnaire, was conducted on a sample in quotas of 1000 young people representative of a population aged between 18–29 and resident in Piedmont. The first part, which concerned attitudes towards sexuality and relationship experience, was administered by means of face-to-face interviews; the second, which focussed on sexual experiences, was self compiled and then handed in to the interviewer inside a sealed envelope bearing a code that enabled it to be paired with the first part. The survey was carried out by the demoscopic institute Eurisko.

Moreover, biographical interviews were carried out with a purpose snow-ball sample of 51 young people between the ages of 18 and 34: following a flexible outline, the interviewer invited the interviewee to go over the main stages in his or her sexual biography, from the socialisation process to current experiences. The interviews were recorded, transcribed in their entirety and then codified using the Atlas.ti programme, before being analysed.

The study also included two focus groups with young university students, who were given some excerpts of

1 With regard to attitudes and conceptions of sexuality, see Kraaycamp (2002), Scott (1998) and Haavio-Mannila, Roos, Kontula (1996). For the Italian situation, see Ferrero Camoletto (2010a). In terms of changes in sexual behaviour, see the most recent surveys conducted in various European countries: for France, *l'Enquete sur la sexualité en France*, published by Bajos and Bozon (2008), and for the United Kingdom, see the National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles II conducted in 2000–01.

2 With the exception of the research performed by Fabris and Davis (1978) in the first half of the '70s, in Italy there have been studies on subpopulations (young people, women, etc.) and on specific aspects of sexuality (fertility, contraception, high-risk sexual behaviour, sexual minorities, etc.). A recently published study explores the sexual attitudes and behaviours of a representative sample of Italians aged 18 to 70 (cf. Barbagli, Dalla Zuanna, Garelli, 2010).

3 The concept of »double standard«, introduced into the literature by Keith Thomas in 1959, has been applied particularly to sexual conduct: for a review of the theme, see Crawford and Popp (2003).

4 For a more detailed treatment of the 'naturalised' vision of male sexuality, see Bertone, Ferrero Camoletto (2009), Ferrero Camoletto, Bertone (2009) and Ferrero Camoletto, Bertone (2010).

5 For an analysis of the scenario of male virginity loss through paid sexual intercourse, see Caltabiano (2010). With regard to the level of acceptance of virginity at marriage and premarital sex in Italy today, see Ferrero Camoletto (2010a).

6 For a broader treatment of the establishment of the intimate model, see Ehrenreich, Hess and Jacobs (1986), Giddens (1992) and Segal (2007).

7 For an analysis of the change in the sexual cultural scenario and the definition of virginity in Western countries, see Carpenter (2005). With regard to the recognition of »sexual diversities« and the multiplicity of forms of intimate/family life, see Weeks (2007) in particular.

8 A previous and longer version of the article was published in an Italian journal: see Ferrero Camoletto (2010b).

interviews about the issue of virginity, with a view to stimulating discussion. This article refers in particular to data from the survey and the biographical interviews, omitting out an analysis of the comments of the focus groups. The interviews and focus groups were held by researchers from the Department of Social Science, University of Turin.

In this article all percentage figures refer to the data in the survey, while the interviews are used both to illustrate the tendencies identified in the quantitative data, and to explore and problematize the definition of virginity and sexual experiences. Survey data from our research project are compared with other data sources, in particular with surveys on a national sample of young people carried out since 1983 by IARD, a research institute on youth attitudes and behaviours.

[NOT] WORTH WAITING FOR? THE PRIMACY OF (SEXUAL) EXPERIENCE

The ideal of virginity is traditionally linked to a condition which is both physical and spiritual: physical as it is associated with not having had penetrative vaginal intercourse, which preserves intact the membrane – the hymen – that closes the vaginal opening; spiritual because it is associated with an interior purity, whereby sexual intercourse is viewed as an expression of the love that rightfully belongs within a marital relationship.⁹ The extent to which virginity is associated with a physical condition, above all for women, is shown by customs and rituals such as displaying the blood-stained sheet

the morning after the wedding night, as empirical proof of deflowering, or medical examinations to attest to the girl's physical 'purity' (a sign of moral integrity), or folk remedies used to recreate a »semblance of virginity«, once more in fashion in view of the popularity of »revirgination« operations. As we will see, the more »embodied« nature of female virginity sparked interesting discussions in many accounts of the young people interviewed.

Numerous studies have shown that not only is the norm that disapproves of premarital sexual relations usually disregarded, but it is also increasingly viewed as less socially legitimate among the younger generations.¹⁰ Comparing the results of the IARD report on young people in Italy (from the first report in 1983 to the last one in 2004) it can be seen that the quota of individuals who deem it morally acceptable to have sex outside marriage has progressively increased, now being at least 4/5 of the young population. It goes without saying that there are parts of the country where the idea that sexual activity should be postponed until after marriage is more firmly rooted: this is the case above all among women, those who live in the south, those with a lower level of education and those with stronger religious identification, who show a stronger disapproval of sexual experience before marriage.

Another significant aspect is the decreasing difference between the answers given by men and women, which would appear to indicate a lessening of the double standard that, as we have already mentioned, took a harsher view of female sexual activity.

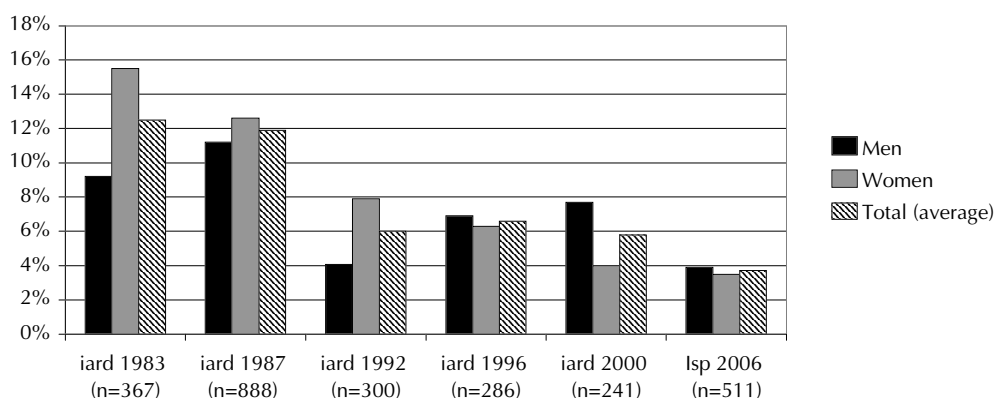


Fig.1: Disapproval of premarital sex (IARD: North-West, 18–24 years old; ISP: Piedmont, 18–24 years old; % values).

Slika 1: Neodobranje seksa pred poroko (IARD: Severozahod, 18–24 let; ISP: Piemont, 18–24 let; % vrednosti).

⁹ With regard to virginity as a religious value, see also Bearman and Bruckner (2001).

¹⁰ For recent studies on the Italian situation, see Buzzi (1998), Vaccaro (2003), Dalla Zuanna and Crisafulli (2004) and Barbagli, Dalla Zuanna, Garelli (2010). For a comparison of the changes in attitudes regarding sexual morality in other Western countries, see Scott (1998).

Therefore almost all young people in Piedmont (just over 95%) believe that sex outside marriage is legitimate. Even among young people with strong religious identification premarital sex is viewed as legitimate: 84% of the regular church-goers surveyed admitted to having had premarital sex.

Consequently the idea that it is preferable to marry a virgin appears to be largely obsolete (table 1): more than 80% of the young people interviewed (and significantly, a higher proportion of women) do not view this characteristic as important when it comes to choosing a partner for marriage.

Table 1: The desirability of virginity in a marriage partner – comparison by gender (% of column) (ISP 2006, 18–29 age group).

Tabela 1: Zaželenost nedolžnosti zakonskega partnerja – primerjava glede na spol (% stolpca) (ISP 2006, starostna skupina 18–29).

	Men	Women	Total
Neither female nor male virgin (%) (N)	79 (398)	88 (424)	83 (822)
Only female virgin (%) (N)	11 (57)	4 (21)	8 (78)
Only male virgin (%) (N)	2 (11)	2 (9)	2 (20)
Both female and male virgin (%) (N)	8 (41)	6 (31)	7 (72)
Total (%) (N)	100 (507)	100 (485)	100 (992)

However, young people appear to be more open and tolerant with regards to the general possibility of having premarital sexual experiences than with regard to the more specific hypothesis of marrying a »non-virgin« partner, that is, a partner with previous sexual experience. This difference can be interpreted as a part of the idealisation of sexuality that seems to be occurring among young people (Garelli, 1984, 250–251). From this point of view, on one hand the right and duty to experiment in the sexual field, among other things, represents the cultural horizon young people aspire to, while on the other, the possibility of experiencing sex as something intimate and exclusive (the »first time«) with the person one starts married life with, still seems to have a legendary, ideal status for some.

In our study, only a minority – 17% – still acknowledge that the norm of virginity has a significant appeal, with one set of young people maintaining a double

standard, attributing importance almost exclusively to female virginity, and another, predominantly for religious reasons (18% of regular church goers, compared to the average figure of 7%), seeing virginity as a value in its own right, for both men and women.

Other data confirm the widespread tendency to attribute value to sexual experimentation. 57% of young people (68% of males compared to 45% of females) believe that in life it is a good thing to have a range of different sexual experiences, namely that it is important to acquire a repertoire of different techniques and partners, in line with the vision of sexuality as an arena for personal formation and self-expression. Cinzia, 28, explains how having different sexual experiences increases one's self-esteem and self-confidence, therefore increasing self-awareness:

I think you need to experiment freely with sex, depending on the opportunities you get, I mean...if I'd only had one boyfriend, the love of my life, and we got married, well, who knows...but I wouldn't have thought I was lucky, actually I think I'm lucky to have had sex with different people because...because it's really good, there are differences, and you feel more like a mature woman, more...you know yourself better. Maybe you get more confident too? With experience, not just sexually, but as a person too.

Filippo, 29, on the other hand, stresses the importance of knowing not only yourself sexually, but also your partner, especially in terms of a long-term relationship: sexual complicity is viewed as an essential ingredient for a successful, long-lasting relationship.

I know boys that kept their virginity [...] till marriage, even being with the same girlfriend for fifteen years, then getting married. I think it's a mistake because actually if you have a good level of experience, including knowing your partner well sexually...you might get married to someone but then in the end you cheat on them and go off with someone else who satisfies you [...]. But if you have a good sexual relationship before then you don't need to look elsewhere afterwards.

A slightly higher percentage (58%, with a bigger gap between men and women: 74% of the former and 41% of the latter) believe it is admissible to have sex with someone you have just met: the legitimacy of rapidly transforming a relationship into a sexual one can be viewed as indicative of a more open, freer conception of sex, which contrasts with the value attributed to waiting and keeping oneself 'pure' for one's life partner.

FOR FUN OR FOR LOVE? YOUNG PEOPLE RECOUNTING THEIR FIRST INTERCOURSE

It is in behavioural terms that we find the clearest confirmation of the changes in the cultural scenario: from the survey it emerged that only 12% of those interviewed – aged between 18 and 29 – had never had full sexual intercourse. Out of the remaining 88%, only 8% (13% of women and 3.5% of men) had sex for the first time with their spouse or the partner they were already living with, namely in the context of an institutionalized or, in any case, highly stable relationship. For 57% of respondents (66% of women and 49% of men), their first sexual partner was the person they were in a relationship with at the time, while for the remaining 35% (48% of men, compared to 21% of women) their »first time« was with a person they had no stable relationship with (friend, classmate or casual acquaintance).

In this context it should be underlined that while there are marked gender differences in the ways people engage in sexual relationships (for example the type of partner they first had sex with), there are no great differences when it comes to the question of having an active sex life or not. Indeed at the time of the interview 14% of women and 9% of men were virgins: this statistic confirms how the contemporary cultural scenario attributes value to sexual experience for both men and women, doing away with the old double standard.

Yet the decline of the double standard with regard to men's and women's rights to an active sex life has not led to an entirely equal scenario for both sexes: as Carpenter asserts (2005), in the second half of the twentieth century a new double standard came into being, according to which men could have occasional sexual encounters or sex without emotional attachment, while women were expected to have sex in the context of an emotional bond or significant relationship. More generally, the qualitative research (Crawford and Popp, 2003), rather than the survey data, showed how the double standard in the sexual field has not disappeared, merely changed, making the guidelines for the behavioural models for men and women less clearly identifiable: the double standard is thus less categorical, multi-dimensional (for example it can regard age at first sexual experience, or the relationship situation of the first sexual experience, or the total number of sexual partners) and more negotiable in relation to the context, according to local and subcultural characteristics (such as age, ethnic identity, national context).

So it is that, while in the context of a cultural climate that favours an active sex life for both men and women, the terms used remain highly gender-differentiated: women more often use the subject of love to legitimize sexuality (table 2). Around 60% of the young women interviewed believed that sex should always be accompanied with an emotional attachment, compared to 37% of men. As a contrast, the latter tend to interpret sex more as an experience with a value in its own right, regardless of the type of emotional involvement, and on a larger scale than their female peers, as an opportunity to be grabbed on every occasion and at whatever cost.¹¹

**Table 2: Sex and love: comparison by gender (% of agreement; % of column) (ISP 2006, 18–29 age group).
Tabela 2: Spolnost in ljubezen: primerjava glede na spol (% strinjanja; % stolpca) (ISP 2006, starostna skupina 18–29).**

	Men	Women	Total
It is legitimate to have sex with someone you don't love (%) (N)	63 (322)	40 (199)	52 (521)
Total (%) (N)	100 (507)	100 (492)	100 (1000)
In sex an opportunity missed is an opportunity lost (%) (N)	41 (209)	13 (65)	27 (274)
Total (%) (N)	100 (506)	100 (494)	100 (1000)

This mixture of normative expectations, in some aspects contradictory (the encouragement of sexual experimentation, which for women is limited by references to a significant relationship and bond) can also be observed in different definitions of virginity.

VIRGINITY LOSS: GIFT, MEMORABLE EXPERIENCE, MILESTONE ON THE PATH TO MATURITY, OR A BURDEN TO BE RID OF?

In the previous paragraphs we saw how the young people of Piedmont widely view an accumulation of sexual experience as positive. What, then, can be said of the concept of virginity? What meanings and functions do young people attribute to virginity in this day and age?

11 Some scholars see this as a version of the traditional double standard translated into the cultural vocabulary of intimacy: for women this spells a transition from the rule of »keeping themselves« to »not throwing themselves away«, from »not doing it« to »doing it for love« (again, see Crawford and Popp (2003)).

In his study on the experience of virginity loss among young Americans, Carpenter (2005), identified three main interpretations (as a gift, stigma or transition),¹² which are often used as alternatives, but also combined, giving rise to original scenarios. Starting from this taxonomy, we included a question in our survey (table 3) that set out to explore the prevailing conceptions of virginity among young people, broadening the possible range of answers compared to the three options identified in the American study, and leaving the results of the in-depth interviews to provide a more complex, multifaceted picture.

Table 3: Conceptions of virginity (one answer only, % of column) (ISP 2006, 18–29 age group).

Tabela 3: Predstave o nedolžnosti (samo en odgovor, % stolpca) (ISP 2006, starostna skupina 18–29).

	Men	Women	Total
It is the greatest gift one can give to one's partner (%) (N)	5 (25)	8 (38)	6 (63)
It is important and not something to lose with the first person that comes along (%) (N)	29 (146)	48 (230)	39 (376)
It is a threshold to cross on one's personal growth path (%) (N)	36 (181)	28 (138)	32 (319)
It is the condition of those who have not had sexual intercourse (%) (N)	22 (111)	11 (54)	17 (165)
It is a burden to be rid of as soon as possible (N)	2 (10)	1 (3)	1 (13)
It is a cultural invention to limit sexual behaviour (%) (N)	6 (31)	4 (21)	5 (52)
Total (%) (N)	100 (504)	100 (484)	100 (988)

The relative majority of those interviewed (around 70%) was split between two very different conceptions: virginity viewed as something important, that must not be »wasted« on a meaningless relationship (39%), and virginity seen as one of the many stages to go through on the road to maturity (32%). Significantly, the first conception was chosen more by girls, the second more by boys: this would appear to reflect definitions of sexuality linked to different ways of constructing femininity and masculinity, sex being more associated with relationships for the former and with experience for the latter.¹³

The first interpretation¹⁴ stresses the value of that characteristic of the individual and therefore the importance of »investing« such a resource in a meaningful way, a translation in secular terms of the traditional conception of virginity as an asset to conserve and give only to one's spouse. A substantial proportion of young people therefore interprets virginity loss as an important episode in their life story, according to the context it occurred in: the partner with whom the event takes place is no longer necessarily the spouse, but must nevertheless be a person who is specially chosen, in such a way that the experience represents an expression of the self, the intimacy constructed in the relationship and the sentiments implied. The account of Loredana, 20, is emblematic: while she rejects the traditional norms regarding female virginity she puts forward a new version:

I think that the first time is really, really important, that it has to be right. I mean, I'm really happy that it happened with a guy I was really in love with, because you've got to get your head around it too. If I'd done it with the guy I was with before, that when I look back I'm like »Oh god, what a shallow guy, what a shallow relationship«, it would've been really bad. So I think it has a value to do with your own interior harmony when you look back and you can say »It was really beautiful«, I mean, in the end... I don't see it at all like: keep your virginity till you get married, no way. Keep your virginity till you're totally in love, then you can look back and say »Wow! I was so in love and I shared it with a person I really respected, I can say that it was a person that...intelligent, that...«, yeah, you have to respect the person you do it with, totally. I think it's important for me to say »I did it with someone I respected«, because you're sharing a big part of yourself.

12 Carpenter (2005) uses the term »gift« to indicate a vision of virginity as a unique, non-renewable property that is an expression of the subject's value, while »stigma« is an interpretation of virginity as a condition or attribute that discredits the bearer, and »transition« is the conception of virginity loss as an important step in the path towards maturity.

13 In this regard Hollway (1996) distinguishes between two gender-differentiated discourses on sexuality: the »have/hold discourse«, which is more typically associated with the construction of femininity, and the »male sexual drive discourse«, which is bound up with the construction of masculinity.

14 In his qualitative study, Garelli (2000) too noted a return among young people to the value of virginity as something not to be wasted, something to be experienced in a significant way.

This interview excerpt clearly evinces a tendency regarding changes in the sexual script: the transition from »virgin till you're married« to »virgin till you're totally in love«, that is, until loss of virginity can be experienced in the context of a suitable relationship.¹⁵ The register of right/wrong is thus replaced by one of authentic/non-authentic: the experience acquires value not according to a norm or absolute moral principle, but according to situational criteria, the assessment of the meaningfulness of one's own experience. It is no coincidence that this view is expressed exclusively by women: as stated previously, it is an expression of the new double standard that has replaced that of the »experienced man« and the »good girl«. We can also see a confirmation of this in the statement of Otto, 21, who, however, significantly projects this conception onto women alone:

For a guy [...] from my point of view, for the first time, with someone older, who you're not in love with I think that... I think it's ok all the same. But for a girl, doing it the first time with a guy that isn't...that's the first person that comes along, is not really great as far as I can see [...]. Men, I reckon, can't wait to lose it, their virginity, I mean have sex with a woman. But women, I reckon, can't wait to lose it either, but with a special person, I reckon, with someone, I mean, that they're in love with.

While Loredana's interpretation underlined the importance of the relationship context and type of partner, Otto's interpretation of virginity and its »loss« focuses on the consequences in terms of the individual's biography: loss of virginity is interpreted as a sort of initiation rite set against the background of a cultural scenario that encourages it. This event is deemed to represent an important biographical transition by virtue of the high level of social recognition that characterizes it. Two important elements of this interpretation can be underlined.

The first is the conception of »biographical watershed« that many young people associate with virginity loss. In this regard the accounts of Eliana, 23, and Giulio, 21, are emblematic:

It was like crossing a line. It felt like the population of the world... this image is very clear in my head... was divided in half: virgins and non-virgins. And it felt like I had taken that giant leap and crossed that

line, so now I belonged to the other half of the world. I felt grown-up. [...]It was like a clear-cut demarcation in my life. I mean it could be one of the big dividing lines in my life.

It was like entering another dimension, like... I don't know... growing up from one moment to the next, really changing in the space of 10 minutes ... [...] that sudden transition from childhood, if we can call it that, in a way to adulthood [...] that's what it was, a clean break between one period and another in my life [...]What is virginity? For me personally [...] it was the dividing line between those two periods, from child/adolescent, let's say, to adult, and once you've crossed that limit, let's say that imaginary limit, I went... I felt like I was moving into adulthood [...] a dividing line [...] a transition from one status to the other [...].

The terms recurring in these excerpts all refer back to the same interpretative framework: the transformative nature of the event, typical of any kind of initiation rite. The interviewees talk about a »line«, a »boundary«, a »break«, a »bridge« or a »demarcation«, the crossing of which represents a significant episode in the individual's life. Having sex for the first time is thus seen as a »transition«, a »leap« into the world of »non-virgins«, of those who have in some way acquired a more adult status, as the various expressions used by the interviewees bear out: »older«, »grown-up«, »adult«. Losing one's virginity therefore represents a »stage in the growth process«, a »normal step« in the young people's path towards adulthood: it also represents one of the few thresholds that still appears irreversible (»because you know you can't ever go back«, in the words of one interviewee), unlike other traditional thresholds into adulthood, which young people now view as non-definitive and always reversible (studies which can be resumed, jobs that can be changed or left, couples splitting up, etc.).¹⁶

The second element is the importance of the homosocial context,¹⁷ intended as the circle of recognition or peer group that acts the social foundation underpinning the credibility of the experience. The young people interviewed often linked the question of virginity and its loss to the physical experience of their first penetrative sexual intercourse: this criterion was accounted for as enabling the experience to be recounted and understood

15 In this regard the results of the study by Jackson and Cram (2003) are significant, stressing as they do the rhetoric of »readiness« used by the girls interviewed, and the ambiguity of this term. From a study I conducted on a number of online forums run by magazines for teenagers (in particular the forum run by the magazine Top Girl), discussions between users often refer to this strategy of legitimization and definition of the »right time« to have sex, but the difficulty of establishing unequivocal criteria for defining »being ready« also emerges: the most frequently mentioned ones were age, type of partner and length of relationship.

16 Due to its irreversibility one exception among these thresholds into adulthood is the birth of the first child.

17 For an analysis of the importance of the homosocial context for the construction of meaning of sexual experiences, for young men in particular, see Flood (2008).

in the context of a common interpretative framework. »Being able to say it« thus becomes an integral part of the experience: that event becomes biographically significant because it is communicable in a shared language that makes it not only comprehensible but also real. Sharing this event with significant others (predominantly friends but also siblings, and much less frequently, parents) is common to both boys and girls, but while for the former it is more of a »laddish« celebration (»a party«, one interviewee said), for the latter it occurs more frequently as an intimate confidence. The homo-social circle thus becomes not only the audience for this account, but also the source of language and meanings with which to relate and make sense of one's own experience.

Franco, 26, underlines the importance of sharing the experience in the context of a »laddish mechanism« of exaggeration, banter and hyperbole that often colour the experience and emphasize the display of masculinity:

Fucking hell! It was a party! It was like... like... a big group of friends, it's hard to explain, I mean it was like a party like someone had got married or something, but it was like that for everyone, anyway for everyone that was »cool« about it [...] anyway in our group, of friends who would talk about that kind of thing, it was something that you would share, like, because it was good to talk about it, not like you were bitching about the girl, know what I mean? It wasn't that kind of mechanism, it was a healthy mechanism, you know, I mean a laddish mechanism [...] I mean, you told everyone things because it was cool and you could take the piss about loads of things.

Sabrina, 30, on the other hand, talks about when she confided in her closest friends, admitting that she had some regrets about »taking the plunge«:

D: Who did you talk about the first time with?

R: [...] With friends [...] you tell it like something that happened to you, a problem that you've got because maybe you regret it. And actually I did regret it. I really regretted it straight away. There is always the feeling of having lost something, of no going back. Then as time passes you realise that it is just a burden.

On the other hand a proportion of interviewees (17%, with a greater number of boys) expressed a naturalized and in some ways »banalized« conception of virginity: it is reduced to a mere physical condition (the integrity of the woman's hymen) or related to experience (not having had »full-on« sex). This is what can be described as »technical« or »physiological« virginity, referring to criteria deemed objective, organic, perceived as not having a multitude of possible interpretations and

almost taken for granted. One example of this interpretation comes from Giulio, 21, who candidly declares:

For me virginity is that moment in a person's [...] life, when he or she has not yet had sex, or sexual experiences; that is, we can say, the act of penetration.

Only 6% of the young interviewees believe that virginity is a gift to give to another person. In more than half of cases these were people with a religious affiliation, drawing on the vision of virginity as something precious that has been received and must be kept and then given to the person they wish to share their lives with. We can compare two accounts, from Carla, 21, and Riccardo, 19, both active church-goers:

For me it has a very high value. I mean I think that it's also about a person's dignity, it has a lot to do with respecting your body, and dignity and the value you give your body. Yes, it's a question of respect and I reckon that it's really a gift, something you have, that's yours, but that's been given to you. The way I see it... I mean... it's yours because, because but someone gave it to you, I mean you got it for free, but it's something so beautiful that you can't just throw it away, that's what I think. So, like, I have no problems with still being a virgin.

I see [losing your virginity] as a big change, a gift to the other person, the biggest complete gift you can give someone, so it's a big step, a big decision that, when it comes down to it, can't be given to just anyone, but has to be weighed up, chosen well [...] losing my virginity in that relationship meant giving myself to her completely for the first time [...] the fact that I did it with her for the first time was like the first gift that I could give, so it had the implicit idea that I would continue giving myself to her, ok, like a seal. [...] If you have one euro it's not like you can give it to everyone, if you want to buy something you buy that thing and that's it [...] so it's like a sign you were keeping yourself for that person.

There are some interesting analogies in the language used by these two interviewees. First and foremost, virginity is accorded a high value, connected to the idea of a person's dignity, their purity, and as an asset to give to another person. To express this value both interviewees use financial terms, as if virginity had a »price«: for Carla virginity is a precious object that she received »for free«, not however implying that it is without value, while for Riccardo it is like a single coin that therefore has to be spent carefully and responsibly. Both underline the importance of not wasting this capital and keeping it to invest in the best possible way. Here we find the only divergence between the two: for Carla, this idea trans-

lates into the strategy we have described as »technical virginity«, namely in experimenting with controlled forms of intimacy that do not cross the line of full intercourse, while for Riccardo the choice was that of a first time experienced as a total gift in the context of a relationship expected to last a lifetime.

Lastly, a small proportion of young people see virginity as a burden to be got rid of (1%), or a cultural invention created to limit sexual behaviour (5%). With regards to the latter interpretation, we have only four accounts from the qualitative interviews, that of a woman who states that »virginity does not exist«, in the sense that it is a sociocultural product (and therefore a mental construct) designed to keep female sexuality under control, and three from men who believe that virginity is a convention or constriction which aims to generate fear and angst.

The idea that virginity is something to be got rid of, on the contrary, emerged more frequently in the in-depth interviews than in the survey. Indeed many young people, especially boys, when talking about their sexual history, refer to virginity as a limiting condition to do away with, as Emanuele, 28, admits:

The first time I said to myself »I'm not a virgin any more« [...] was an achievement, an achievement because I had actually been carrying around this weight of not having had sex and so inside my head it was like an achievement [...] virginity was like this massive obsession for me.

Some boys even found it hard to describe themselves as »virgins« as if it was an emasculating element to be exorcised and removed, even from language. In the accounts of these interviewees, then, the focus shifts to acquiring an active sex life: it is not about being in a certain condition, but modifying one's status by »doing«, thereby becoming men to all intents and purposes.¹⁸ This is admitted by Fiorenzo, 32:

[I thought I wasn't a virgin any more] the very first time, yeah, the very first time I finally got rid of it. [...] So the first time I did it, like I said, I thought, »Finally I've done it, I'm not a virgin any more«, even if it doesn't have the same meaning, honestly I never really thought, »I'm not a virgin any more«, I said, »I've done it«, I never thought about my own virginity actually.

With regard to loss of virginity among boys, the normative dimension, of how things »ought to be« emerges clearly: peer group pressure, the association between

being sexually active, being virile and being adults are elements of the script that define not only the sexual behaviour of young males, but also the construction of their masculinity. Virginity is therefore defined, in most cases, as something negative: an »obstacle«, a »little problem«, an »obsession«, a »handicap«, a »burden«, the elimination of which brings a »liberation«, an »achievement«, a »victory«. The interesting aspect is that male language stresses losing in order to win something: loss of virginity for men actually entails acquiring something, boosting their reputations.¹⁹ The same boys believe that for girls it is more a question of keeping themselves and not throwing themselves away: once more, for a girl loss of virginity only enables her to acquire something if it takes place in the context of a significant relationship. Among girls too, however, there is new script emerging that legitimizes a recreational, instrumental use of sexuality in which the »first time« is viewed as both a loss and a gain, an event that paves the way for a wide range of possible new experiences. For a number of girls, a minority among our interviewees, the loss of physical virginity is seen as a liberation, an »achievement«, as in the case of Betty, 22: *»It was an event, I don't know, almost like an initiation, like from then on, not being a virgin any more, it was going to get easier«.* However what represents a cutting edge position for women, subverting the existing scenario, remains the dominant model among men.

Though we cannot talk about an actual convergence of the male and female models, it would seem that alongside the reproduction of the traditional gender-differentiated sexual scenarios, the socially available cultural repertoires can now be used with a greater degree of flexibility, thanks also to a greater awareness of forms of cultural conditioning. Thus boys can now feel more legitimized in postponing losing their virginity, with a view to seeking a greater emotional investment,²⁰ while girls can feel more authorised to experiment in the sexual field too.

The apparent opening up to a more flexible use of sexual scenarios can however conceal ambivalent normative pressures that give rise to tensions and contradictions in the individual: the general encouragement of sexual experimentation clashes with specific and contextual social expectations that determine the most appropriate behaviours for boys and girls.

CONCLUSIONS: VIRGINITY AS PHYSICAL EXPERIENCE AND SYMBOLIC THRESHOLD

The conception of virginity that emerges from our study is based on a substantial change in the conventional, traditional interpretation. From previously being a

18 On the performative conception of masculinity, see Connell (2005).

19 With regard to the different impact of social conduct on the reputations of boys and girls, see Holland et al. (1996).

20 With regard to the establishment of a romantic, intimate scenario among boys too, see Allen (2007).

value-based and normative frame of reference in which marital sex was the only legitimate expression of sexuality, the concept of virginity and its loss has now become an interpretative framework that young people use to give meaning to their own sexual experience.

The two main discourses used when talking about loss of virginity are the discourse of emotional importance and the discourse of experimentation or experience leading to personal growth: albeit with subtle differences, both of these are based on the rhetoric of authenticity as the main source of legitimization.

The discourse of emotional significance associates sexuality with a relationship or emotional investment: it references the link between sex and love that, as other studies have shown,²¹ continues to be an extremely powerful cultural repertoire in contemporary society, maintaining various elements of continuity with the tradition of romantic love.²²

Meanwhile, the discourse of the prime importance of experience, a typical trait of youth culture,²³ is perfectly applicable to the field of affective and sexual relationships. And placing the emphasis on the experiential dimension enables young people to use multiple cultural repertoires to describe and explain their conduct.

In view of this, alongside a detachment from the moral imperative of virginity, in part of the young population we can observe a redefinition of the term: the focus shifts from »keeping yourself« to »having a significant experience«. The idea of »not throwing yourself away« is therefore no longer connected to the prohibition on being sexually active outside of marriage, but rather to the belief that sexuality represents an arena for the construction of the identity, and is therefore a resource with a value of its own. As a whole then, the field of sexuality acquires initiatory status, as an arena for ex-

perimenting with adulthood, in which young people can experience independence ahead of time and make important decisions, from identifying the right time to choosing the right person to experience the »first time« with.

The new discourses – experimentation on one hand and affective authenticity on the other – would appear to mirror the process of the democratization of intimacy,²⁴ and therefore signal the weakening or decline of the traditional double standard in the sexual field. Yet various signals are now emerging in research of the reproduction in a new guise of highly gender-differentiated models of sexual conduct. Indeed we have seen how the definitions of the right context (sex within or outside of a significant relationship, and at the appropriate age) for sexuality remain closely connected to differentiated, complementary constructions of masculinity and femininity.

The reinterpretation of the meaning of virginity is therefore not a neutral process: the study showed how the adoption of certain scenarios or discourses to explain and legitimize one's own experience is closely linked to the male identity (virginity as a stigma; the fear of being left behind; the importance attributed to the experience itself of losing one's virginity; etc.) or the female identity (virginity as something to invest, fear of being too precocious; the importance attributed to the relationship context of the experience). It also emerged that some subjects use cultural repertoires in unconventional ways, detached from their gender connotations: for example boys who see loss of virginity as a gift to the partner or associate it with an important relationship, and girls who experience losing their virginity as a liberation or an instrumental experience.

21 In particular see Johnson (2005), who analysed the use of the discourse of love as a source for constructing meaning with regard to one's (hetero)sexual experiences. With regards to a continuing connection between sex and love in young Italians' conception of sexuality, see Buzzi (1998) and Garelli (2000).

22 With regard to the distinction between »romantic love« and »convergent love«, see Giddens (1995); on the power of the traditional conception of romantic love, see Gross (2005).

23 Among the first to recognise this dimension as a characteristic trait of late-modern youth culture (see Garelli, 1984), Garelli also highlighted its importance in young people's conceptions of sex and love (Garelli, 2000).

24 For a broader analysis of the theme of the democratization of intimacy, see Giddens (1995) and Weeks (2007).

IZKUŠNJE VELJAJO. MLADI ITALIJANI PRIPOVEDUJEJO O IZGUBI NEDOLŽNOSTI

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POVZETEK

Članek poskuša raziskati spremembe v spolni kulturi mladih Italijanov – osredotoča se na odnos in vedenje v povezavi s prvo spolno izkušnjo ter na vprašanje, kaj pojmuje pod družbeno oznako »izguba nedolžnosti«.

Članek temelji na kvantitativnih in kvalitativnih podatkih iz študije, ki je bila izvedena leta 2006 in jo je financiral oddelek za kulturo Regionalnega sveta. Obsegala je raziskavo v obliki vprašalnika v dveh delih, izvedenega na vzorcu 1000 predstavnikov mladine med 18 in 29 letom starosti s stalnim prebivališčem v Piemontu. Prvi del, ki zadeva odnos do spolnosti in spolnih izkušenj, je bil izpeljan s pogovori iz oči v oči, medtem ko je bil drugi, ki se osredotoča na same spolne izkušnje, izpolnjen lastnoročno, nato pa izročen spraševalcu v zaprti kuverti s priloženim geslom, ki je omogočilo združitev drugega dela s prvim. Raziskavo je izvedel demoskopski inštitut Eurisko. Vzoredno s tem je bilo opravljenih 51 biografskih intervjujev z mladimi v starosti med 18 in 34 let: s prilagodljivim vprašalnikom je anketar povabil sodelujoče, da ga popeljejo skozi glavne faze svoje spolne biografije; od procesa socializacije do trenutnih izkušenj. Intervjuji so bili posneti, v celoti zapisani in nato kodificirani z uporabo programa Atlas.ti, preden so jih analizirali. Vsa števila v obliki odstotkov v tem članku se nanašajo na podatke, zbrane v zgoraj omenjeni raziskavi, medtem ko so intervjuji prikazani tako za ponazoritev težnje, opredeljene s pomočjo kvantitativnih podatkov, kot tudi za raziskovanje in problematizacijo opredelitve nedolžnosti in spolnih izkušenj.

Članek prikazuje, kako raziskovanje vprašanja devišstva ponuja perspektivo za analizo načinov, s katerimi mladi oblikujejo odnos do pomena svojih prvih spolnih izkušenj in združujejo konformnost, pogajanja in odpor tako v smislu tradicionalnega pojmovanja spolnosti kot tudi v pojmovanju moškosti in ženskosti. V pogovorih o izgubi nedolžnosti se italijanska mladina sklicuje na dve glavni sestavini, obe temelječi na poudarku pristnosti kot glavnega vira legitimizacije: čustveni pomen izkušnje na eni strani in eksperimentiranje, ki vodi k osebni rasti, na drugi. Te nove diskurze lahko razumemo kot odraz procesa demokratizacije intimnosti in njihov pojav kot znak oslabilte ali upadanja pojava tradicionalnih dvojnih meril na področju spolnosti. Vendar pa se sedaj v raziskavah prav tako pojavljajo različni znaki reprodukcije močno spolno diferenciranih modelov spolnega vedenja v novih preoblikah. Pravzaprav smo videli, kako so opredelitve ustreznega konteksta za spolnost (seks znotraj ali zunaj pomembnega razmerja in pri ustrezni starosti) še vedno tesno povezane z različnimi, dopolnilnimi konstrukcijami moškosti in ženskosti. Vendar se je prav tako izkazalo, da nekateri mladi ljudje uporabljajo dane kulturne repertoarje na različne nekonvencionalne načine, ločene od kakršne koli spolne konotacije.

Ključne besede: mladi, spol, spolnost, nedolžnost, dvojna merila

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BRINGING MASCULINITY INTO THE PICTURE: UNDERSTANDING THE GENDERED DIMENSIONS OF (HETERO)SEXUALITY IN ITALY

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ABSTRACT

A gendered perspective, with considerations on male sexuality in particular, is fundamental when it comes to understanding the long-term and recent changes in the meanings and experiences of sexuality in Italy. In support of this argument, the article points to the limited attention devoted to intersections between sexuality and gender in the construction of heterosexuality in Italian research, looks at the specific features of these intersections in the Italian context, and discusses data on sexual behaviour and attitudes from a recent national survey. The crucial issue that emerges from the discussion is the enduring power of the social processes that naturalise male sexuality, despite the challenges from women's emerging aspirations to more egalitarian relations, and their growing resources for negotiating them. The strength of recent biologising tendencies – as a global trend but also in their specific local version (building in Italy upon the well-rooted script of the predatory male) shows that looking at constructions of masculinity can help us find the global – and local – reasons why the linear progression towards greater gender symmetry that the notion of plastic sexuality seemed to promise has failed to materialise.

Key words: masculinity, sexuality, naturalisation, heterosexuality, Italy

LO SGUARDO SULLA MASCHILITÀ: COMPRENDERE LE DIMENSIONI DI GENERE DELL'(ETERO)SESSUALITÀ IN ITALIA

SINTESI

L'attenzione alla prospettiva di genere, e in particolare alla sessualità maschile, è una condizione necessaria per capire i cambiamenti recenti e di lungo periodo nei significati e nelle esperienze della sessualità in Italia. Nel sostenere questa tesi, l'articolo rileva la limitata attenzione riservata dalla ricerca italiana alle intersezioni tra sessualità e genere nella costruzione dell'eterosessualità, mette in luce le caratteristiche specifiche di queste intersezioni nel contesto italiano e discute i dati di una recente ricerca sul comportamento e sugli atteggiamenti degli italiani riguardo alla sessualità. Ne emerge una questione cruciale, ossia la persistenza dei processi sociali di naturalizzazione della sessualità maschile, che mantengono la loro forza nonostante le sfide provenienti dalle aspirazioni delle donne a relazioni più egualitarie e dalle loro crescenti risorse nel negoziarle. La recente rinnovata forza delle interpretazioni biologistiche, come tendenza globale ma anche nella loro specifica versione locale (che in Italia si fonda sul ben radicato script dell'uomo cacciatore), mostra che guardare alle costruzioni della maschilità può aiutarci a trovare le ragioni globali, e locali, per cui non si può parlare di quella progressione lineare verso una maggiore simmetria di genere che la nozione di sessualità plastica sembrava promettere.

Parole chiave: maschilità, sessualità, naturalizzazione, eterosessualità, Italia

INTRODUCTION

In this article we will explore some of the ways in which a relational perspective on gender, looking at the changing construction of gender differences, can help us understand the features and specificities of heterosexual sexuality in Italy. In particular, we will focus on the importance of bringing male sexuality into the picture.

What Wanrooij (2005, 277) wrote on the state of historical studies in Italy can in fact also be applied to sexuality studies: »The lack of studies specifically dealing with the construction of masculinity has created a distorted image in which the condition of females is interpreted as the result of specific historical developments, while masculinity has remained an a-historical category«.¹

While this situation has changed in some areas of research in recent years, with the development of a growing body of masculinity studies in Italy, when it comes to heterosexual masculinity, some fundamental assumptions about male sexuality are still largely unexplored and unchallenged.

We will therefore argue for the need to engage in an exploration of constructions of masculinity in and through sexuality, as fundamental in terms of understanding long-term and recent changes in sexual meanings and experiences in Italy. In order to illustrate our point, we will explore interpretations of the gender construction of heterosexual sexuality and refer to some insights arising from recent data on sexual behaviour and attitudes in this country.

GENDER AND SEXUALITY: LOOKING FOR CONNECTIONS IN ITALIAN RESEARCH

Italy can rightly be considered a latecomer to the development of a mainstream sociology of sexuality. While important research on the sexual behaviour of the national population has been carried out in many Western countries in recent decades, it was not until 2006 that a comprehensive study took place in Italy, almost 30 years after the first national survey (Fabris, Davis, 1978).

In the meantime, studies focusing upon specific aspects of sexuality, or specific groups, have been carried out. Some of these investigate perceived 'others', like gay and lesbian people (Barbagli, Colombo, 2001; Saraceno, 2003) or groups socially perceived to be more 'at risk', like young people (Buzzi, 1998; Garelli, 2000; Dalla Zuanna, Crisafulli, 2004). The need to understand Italy's extremely low fertility rate has prompted the

demographic studies mainly concerned with women and their reproductive careers, and contraceptive behaviour as related to this issue (Signorelli et al., 1996; Castiglioni, Dalla Zuanna, 1997). More general attempts to grasp social changes in sexuality have been made on the basis of limited samples (Vaccaro, 2000).

The recent survey on a national sample (Barbagli, Dalla Zuanna, Garelli, 2010), carried out in 2006, attempted to remedy the lack of large surveys on the sexual behaviour and attitudes of the whole population, taking inspiration from those carried out in other countries (Laumann et al., 1994; Wellings et al., 1994; Bajos, Bozon, 2008).

Defined as a specific field of sociological investigation, however, the study of sexuality continues to be basically separated from studies on families and intimate relations, with the exception of (women's) reproductive behaviour linked to the social issue of fertility. The arena of intersections between sexuality and gender in the construction of heterosexuality is therefore as yet largely unexplored.

In Italian sociology critical perspectives on heterosexuality actually developed at the intersection between feminist and family studies, led by a generation of feminist scholars (many of them related to the GRIFF research group) who developed theoretical and empirical research in the Seventies and Eighties. This research, however, mainly focused upon other dimensions of heterosexuality, such as the gender division of paid work and care-giving (Saraceno, 1992; Balbo, 1987), while there was little empirical work that related these issues to women's understandings and experiences of sexuality in their everyday lives (Piccone Stella, 1979; Siebert, 1991).

On the contrary, radical feminism's critical approach to sexuality, and its thematising of heterosexual sexuality as a form of gender hierarchy, was taken up in studies on public debates, feminist activism and institutional responses, in particular on the issues of abortion and gender violence (Eckmann Pisciotto, 1996).

In reviewing critical studies that investigate the intersections between gender and sexuality in Italy, Ross (2010) rightly turns to other areas and contexts of research production, moving across disciplines, across the boundaries between academia and social movements, and across national borders. Stemming from feminist thought and, more recently, from queer studies (Bellagamba, Di Cori, Pustianaz, 2000; Rizzo, 2006; Trappolin, 2008), theoretical reflections and – to a lesser extent – empirical research have focused on femininity and dissident sexualities. As a result, Ross (2010, 165) argues

1 This quotation was taken up by Ross (2010) in her recent contribution to critical studies on gender and sexuality in Italy, in order to illustrate the same point.

that, »Although critical attention has increased, its focus has tended to remain on the perceived 'others' (for example, women and gay men), rather than turning its deconstructing gaze on normative gendered and sexual identities (hegemonic masculinity, heterosexual sex)«.

Within these critical perspectives, heterosexual sexuality actually tends to be thematised as compulsory heterosexuality or heteronormativity, referring to its function of defining a gender hierarchy and the boundaries between legitimate and deviant sexualities, with the result of constructing a rather monolithic notion of heterosexual sex, and in particular of male (hetero)sexual desires and behaviour.

The recent development of masculinity studies in Italy has actually challenged a-historical views and investigated change and diversity in social constructions of masculinity (Bellassai, 2004; Dell'Agnese, Ruspini, 2007; 2009). However, the reproduction of and changes in constructions of masculinity through everyday sexual practices continue to be largely overlooked (Bertone, Ferrero Camoletto, 2009; Ferrero Camoletto, Bertone, 2010).

On the basis of available data from the recent national survey and other related research, in the following paragraph we will discuss how exploring representations and experiences of male heterosexual sexuality can contribute to making sense of the changes and of the persisting traits in heterosexual gender arrangements in Italy.²

CHANGES IN HETEROSEXUALITY, CHANGES IN GENDER RELATIONS

Studies exploring the relationship between sexual and intimate relations and constructions of gender have referred to notions of compulsory or institutionalised heterosexuality as a form of social organisation, based on a complementary and hierarchical construction of gender differences (Rich, 1980; Richardson, 1996; Jackson, 2006; Hockey, Meah, Robinson, 2007; Holland et al., 1998).

Albeit variously defined, the institutionalised model of heterosexuality that spread in European societies, with the hegemony of bourgeois culture and the importance it attached to respectability (Skeggs, 1997), can be outlined. It is based upon attributing to men a natural sexual instinct that seeks release, represented by male orgasm (Plummer, 2005; Weeks, 1985). In the construction of respectable bourgeois masculinity, men's self-

containment, with its capacity to dominate expressions of this instinct by self-control and respect for women is valued, but with the understanding that male sexual instinct cannot always be controlled, and that once aroused it is difficult to check. Women's sexuality is assigned the function of containing and managing male sexuality, setting it within a loving and procreative relationship, anchoring men to their responsibilities as husbands and fathers. This model entails strong social control over women, aimed at preserving their virginity so that they can be initiated and guided in their experience of sexuality by men willing to take on these responsibilities. Respectable women are expected to respond to men's sexual desires but not to be interested in sexuality per se: showing their own sexual desires and acting to fulfil them would damage their reputations. They would become »easy women«, tempting sexual objects for men and therefore a threat to the stability of respectable couples. This representation of differences between male and female sexuality corresponds to a double standard in the judgment of their behaviour, with men's sexual experiences outside the stable couple being considered more legitimate than women's.

After the conservative Fifties, when this model of sexuality still held sway, the so-called sexual revolution of the Sixties and Seventies is usually referred to as a time of radical changes in the cultural construction of gender differences regarding sexuality. These changes concerned women's sexuality and were linked to more general transformations in women's lives and identities, as they acquired greater economic, psychological and sexual autonomy. Previously strictly regulated within marriage, women's sexuality opened up to greater experimentation in terms of contexts and practices, with women claiming the right to acknowledge and express their own desires.

Stemming from these changes in women's self-representation and behaviour, a new model of heterosexuality took up a prominent position in the cultural scenario: namely the model based on intimacy, entailing greater gender symmetry, with couple relations conceived as an ongoing construction requiring communication and negotiation between partners. Uncoupled from reproduction, sexuality became the symbol of the authentic expression of the self and deep communication within the couple (Giddens, 1992; Jamieson, 1998). There was therefore a shift from the marking of differences that characterised the complementary nature of gender roles in the respectable couple, to expectations

2 The data come from the Survey of Italians' Sexuality (ISI), carried out in 2006 on a sample of 3058 Italian residents aged between 18 and 70. The survey was accompanied by 120 semi-structured biographical interviews with women and men of the same age. The results of the research were published in Barbagli, Dalla Zuanna, Garelli (2010): for the methodological aspects of the research, see the appendix of that book.

of convergence in the ways men and women experience their sexuality. On the one hand, women were expected to become more similar to men in their level of sexual experimentation, while on the other men were expected to become more similar to women, by meeting their demands for a sexual relationship negotiated within a dimension of intimacy and communication.

Some scholars, however, have criticised this description of recent changes in heterosexuality, proposing less optimistic interpretations of gender relations and arguing that the seemingly more symmetrical expectations of having, and accumulating, sexual experiences may conceal new forms of the old double standard (Crawford, Popp, 2003). The new hedonistic model of sexuality does in fact seem to retain gendered connotations: following one's sexual desires also outside an affective relationship is perceived as an appropriate expression of masculinity, while for women it still represents a possible risk for their reputation.

These setbacks in the move towards gender symmetry have been mainly connected to the tension between the substantial changes in women's sexuality and the »slow motion« of men's sexuality (Segal, 1990). Men, it has been argued, embraced the sexual revolution in its quantitative dimension: the increase in the number of women who became sexually available and willing to experiment with a wider variety of practices. Yet on the other hand, in heterosexual relations, and especially in the homosocial contexts in which the cultural construction of masculinity takes place (Flood, 2008), they resisted the qualitative dimension of that revolution, failing to meet women's demands to be agents of their pleasure and to redefine their sexual repertoire, with less emphasis on penetration (Ehrenreich, Hess, Jacobs, 1986).

In the case of Italy, we will argue that there are many elements supporting these interpretations; at the same time, we will point out some context-specific features of the social arrangements of sexuality, gender and heterosexuality in that country.

THE LOCAL CONTEXT: INTIMATE AND GENDER RELATIONS IN ITALY

The post-war decades, the period when the oldest cohorts of today were growing up, were characterised by strong cultural and institutional continuities with Fascism in terms of models of family and gender relations, as well as sexual norms. These continuities are evident in legal regulation. The Fascist family law, which aimed to preserve marriage stability, reinforce patriarchal power within the family and impose a procreative notion of sexuality, remained largely unchanged until the Seventies.

In the Fifties, family stability, guaranteed by the complementary nature of gender roles, remained a key goal, and was an assumption shared by the two main

Italian political subcultures, the Catholic and Communist currents (Bellassai, 2000).

The great social, cultural and legislative changes regarding gender and family relations took place in Italy in the 60s and 70s. Women were at the centre of these changes, which saw a shift from the »golden age« of the housewife model, as a legitimate expectation, if not achievable reality for many of them, to a model of stable presence on the labour market also after marriage and childbirth (Saraceno, 1992). The heated public debate around the referendum of 1974, which confirmed the law on divorce, heralded an era of public discourse questioning family relations and women's roles. The Italian feminist movement became the main mass movement during the Seventies, taking up issues regarding women's sexuality, and claiming entitlement to pleasure and control over reproduction, in particular with regard to the struggle to legalise abortion. This movement had a deep cultural impact on public discourse and women's identities.

Family law underwent radical changes in that period: divorce was introduced in 1970, and parity for spouses in 1975; in 1968 the differential treatment of extramarital relations (if these involved men they were considered as legitimate cause for separation only if they caused public scandal) was abolished. Fascist criminal law punished any diffusion of information on contraception and abortion as crimes against the race: the former was de-criminalised in 1971, and abortion was legalised in 1978. Honour crime was only completely abolished in 1981 (Pocar, Ronfani, 2003).

These changes, however, have not yet aligned Italy with other Western (Central and Northern) European countries. The present situation is interpreted partly in terms of a delay compared to those countries, and partly in terms of enduring specificities (Therborn, 2004; Zanatta, 2008). In some respects the normative timings regulating relational life courses show greater stability, due to the continuing strong institutionalisation of marriage, with relatively low, albeit fast growing, levels of cohabitation, marital instability and of out-of-wedlock births (Barbagli, Castiglioni, Dalla Zuanna, 2003).

The strength of intergenerational ties has also been identified as a key feature of family relations in Italy and other Southern European countries. The tendency of leaving the parental home relatively late and mainly for marriage, and the importance of intergenerational relations, with residential proximity after the period of cohabitation with the family of origin, have time-honoured historical roots as well as economic causes, due to the growing dependence of young people on their families of origin (Barbagli, Castiglioni, Dalla Zuanna, 2003). This situation is reinforced by the fact that in Italy social and labour policies are based on the assumption that individual welfare should primarily spring from the support of family and kin (Saraceno, 1994; Naldini, 2003).

Together with the influence of the Catholic Church, this situation has also been indicated as a key factor in the »delay« in the pluralisation of family policies (the absence of legal recognition for same-sex couples, adoption reserved to married couples, criminalisation of donor insemination) and social behaviour, with the relatively slow diffusion of couple cohabitation before or as an alternative to marriage (Rosina, Fraboni, 2004).

INTERPRETATIONS OF CHANGES IN SEXUALITY IN ITALY: GENDER SPECIFICITIES AS WOMEN'S SPECIFICITIES

In making sense of changes in sexuality, gender specificities are usually thematised by discussing women's experiences. The social and cultural changes of the Seventies brought women increased opportunities for independence and the possibility to envisage and construct more selective and symmetrical relations with men. The major changes in women's behaviour can be seen in the data from the recent survey, as regards the age for first intercourse, for instance, which is becoming increasingly similar for women and men. The gender difference in the age at first intercourse has gone down from four years among the oldest cohort to one year among the youngest,³ and virginity before marriage, which was still preserved by the majority of women from the 1937-46 cohort, has virtually disappeared among the young women of today (Caltabiano, 2010).

At the same time, research on sexual behaviour has indicated that women embody the Italian delay in moving towards a more secularised and pluralistic sexual lifestyle, as well as relationships based on greater gender symmetry, represented by the European standard set by Western Central and Northern countries. Looking at the number of partners, which is considered as a key indicator in this process, the recent data show that the younger cohorts of Italian men have become more similar to their counterparts in other countries in the diffusion of a more experimental sexual lifestyle, with a decline in monogamous life courses and an increase in the number of men with six or more sexual partners. Despite the great changes that have occurred in women's

sexuality, the differences between Italian women and those of other countries appears more persistent (Castiglioni, Dalla Zuanna, 2010).

Women's sexual behaviour therefore seems to point both to great changes across cohorts and to Italian women still lagging behind in the diffusion of the new sexual lifestyles, implying that women's propensity for experimentation converges with men's.⁴

Looking at changes in the meanings attached to both women's and men's sexuality can help us to problematise this interpretation, which tends to focus upon women and their vulnerability to social control, drawing on the notion of women's greater sexual plasticity or fluidity (Baumeister, 2000), rather than focusing on how this social control embodies a male gaze and produces gendered sexualities.

NOTIONS OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN SEXUALITY

Women's sexuality: how far beyond respectability?

The recent survey data on sexual attitudes show a substantial change in visions of women's sexuality, in the form of a marked move away from the model of the respectable woman. The notion that a respectable woman does not openly show interest in sex is still shared by a large majority of men over 60, and by almost the majority of women of the same age, but it has lost much of its popularity among the younger cohorts, with supporters limited to around one fifth of men and women aged 24-29. This is not, however, a linear change. Among the youngest women in the sample, aged 18-23, we can observe a stronger reproduction of the image of the respectable woman than among adult women, pointing to the enduring nature of this notion in the cultural repertoires these women refer to when learning how to deal with sexuality.

There is a similar pattern when it comes to women's virginity before marriage, showing an even more dramatic change but also the persistence of the cultural model of the double standard that seems to retain appeal for the younger cohorts, and men in particular.

3 We refer here to the difference between median age at first intercourse. In the 1913-22 cohort the median age was 17.8 for men and 22 for women; in the 1983-89 cohort, the median age was 17.4 for men and 18.5 for women (Caltabiano, 2010).

4 Research in other countries has thematised another process of convergence of gender models, with men increasingly taking up typically feminine scripts, such as romantic or intimate ones, when making sense of their sexuality (Redman, 2001; Maxwell, 2007; Allen, 2003; 2007; Korobov, 2008).

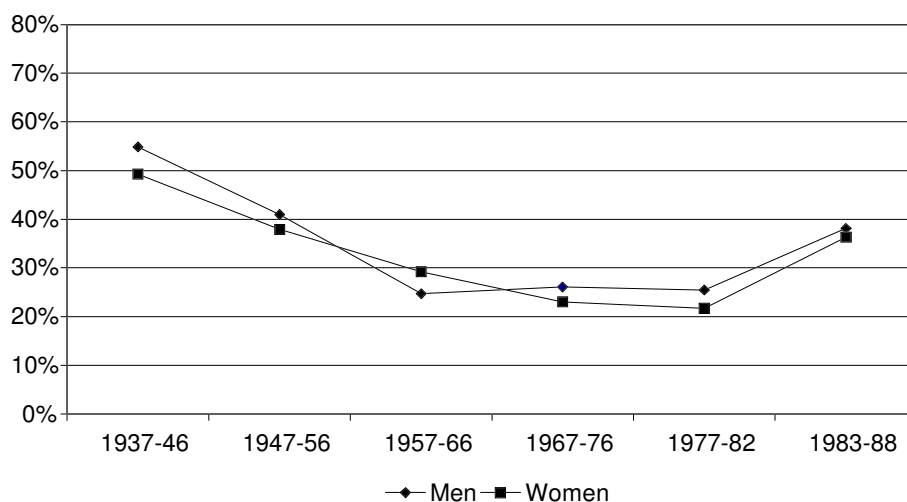


Fig. 1: A respectable woman does not show interest in sex: percentage of consensus among women and men, by birth cohort (ISI – Italian survey, 2006).

Sl. 1: Spoštovanja vredne ženske seks ne zanima: strinjanje med moškimi in ženskami iz različnih starostnih skupin v odstotkih (ISI – Italijanska raziskava, 2006).

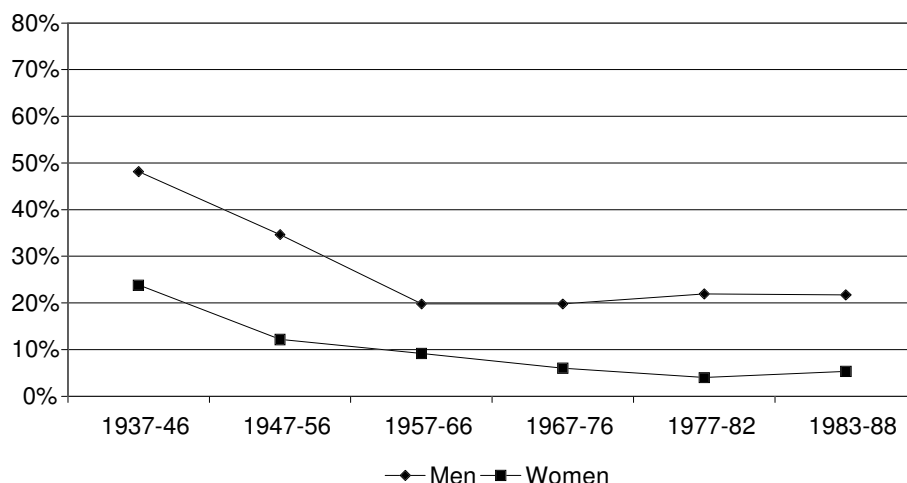


Fig. 2: The woman's virginity is desirable: percentage of consensus among women and men, by birth cohort (ISI – Italian survey, 2006).

Sl. 2: Zaželeno je, da je ženska še nedolžna: strinjanje med moškimi in ženskami iz različnih starostnih skupin v odstotkih (ISI – Italijanska raziskava, 2006).

Due to these enduring constraints on the female 'reputation', with the distinction between respectable and loose women not dissipating but acquiring new, more subtle forms, men's sexuality is consequently defined as the arena for a desire that is so natural and taken for granted that it remains invisible.

The persistence of the predatory male gaze

As research from other countries has shown – we can mention the French national survey on sexuality in par-

ticular – the belief that men's sexual desire is naturally stronger than women's is very widespread: in France it is shared by 73% of women and 59% of men, and the majority of women and men of all age cohorts. As French researchers argue, this vision also ascribes meaning to women's sexuality and legitimates the double standard: women's sexual experiences outside the couple cannot be justified as easily as men's, for whom they are perceived as an expression of natural needs (Bajos, Ferrand, Andro 2008).

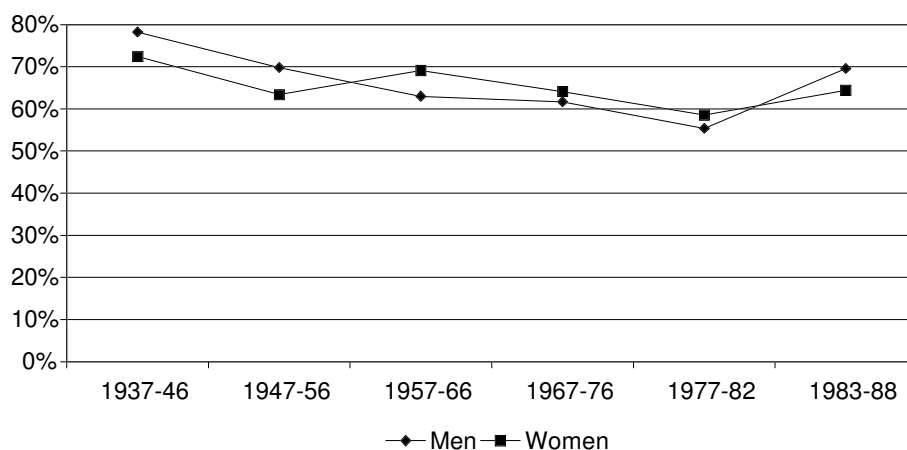


Fig. 3: Men have stronger sexual needs than women: percentage of consensus among women and men, by birth cohort (ISI – Italian survey, 2006).

Sl. 3: Moški imajo močnejšo potrebo po spolnosti kakor ženske: strinjanje med moškimi in ženskami iz različnih starostnih skupin v odstotkih (ISI – Italijanska raziskava, 2006).

Support for a similar statement about men having stronger sexual needs than women proves to be very widespread in Italy as well, to the same extent (66%) among women and men.

Support for this representation of gender differences in sexuality is stable across age cohorts. It only decreases, as in France, among young adults aged 24–29, an age when most people have already experienced sexual and affective relations. It gets much broader support among younger people, who may refer to prevailing cultural scripts rather than personal experience when shaping their visions of gender differences in sexuality. This belief has also a strikingly homogeneous diffusion across social classes, religious orientation and geo-

graphical areas. The level of education is one of the few features that influences the level of consensus with this statement: a greater proportion, albeit still a minority, of male and female graduates question it.

Derived from the vision of male sexuality as a natural instinct that seeks release is also the belief that this instinct, once released from the control exercised by women, and aroused by their provocative attitudes, cannot be held in check. This conviction is held by almost half of the Italian population, and again to an equal extent by men and women. It is prevalent among people over sixty, but also among the youngest cohort, showing its persistence as a cultural model.

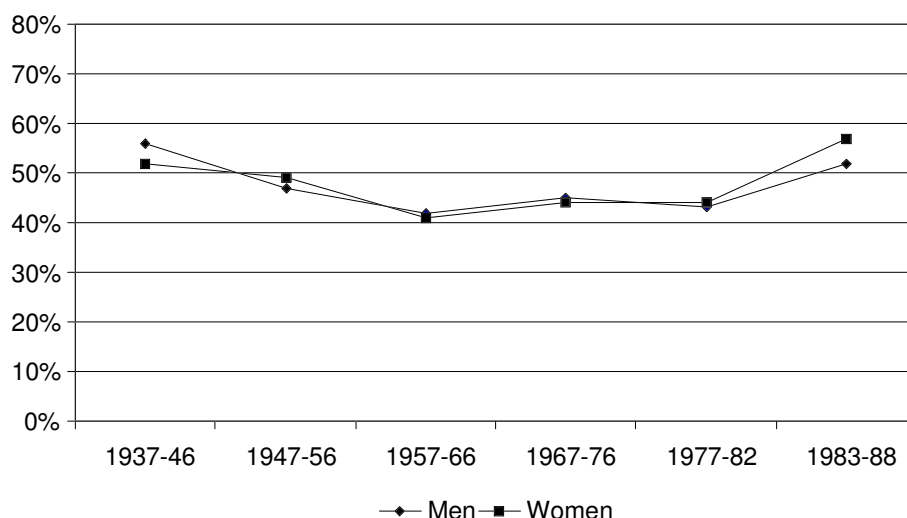


Fig. 4: Once provoked, a man can hardly stop: percentage of consensus among women and men, by birth cohort (ISI – Italian survey, 2006).

Sl. 4: Moški se težko ustavi, ko se ga sprovcira: strinjanje med moškimi in ženskami iz različnih starostnih skupin v odstotkih (ISI – Italijanska raziskava, 2006).



Fig. 5: *If a woman gets raped, it's because she was asking for it: percentage of consensus among women and men, by birth cohort (ISI – Italian survey, 2006).*

Sl. 5: *Če je bila ženska posiljena, se je to zgodilo, ker je to sama prosila: strinjanje med moškimi in ženskami iz različnih starostnih skupin v odstotkih (ISI – Italijanska raziskava, 2006).*

A corresponding idea, underpinned by this vision but focusing on its implications for women, received very marginal support, especially among younger cohorts: few people agree with the statement that if a woman is raped, it is often because she provoked it. The difference in support for these two statements shows that changes in women's sexuality, moving away from the narrow pathway of the respectable model, have seemingly gained widespread legitimacy but are at the same time jeopardized by the largely unchallenged view of the unavoidably predatory nature of male sexuality.

The diffusion of a complementary view of gender differences in heterosexuality also emerges from the widespread support for the statement »in sexuality, feelings are more important for women, and physical

pleasure is more important for men«, which was shared by 65% of women and 58% of men. This support, however, shows greater variation across cohorts, finding less consensus among young adults aged 24–29, but reflecting the same pattern as the previous one when it comes to greater consensus among the youngest cohort.

How can we explain this enduring consensus, among both men and women, for a differential vision of sexual needs, in a society where the ideal of the egalitarian couple has become hegemonic? The French researchers have proposed an interpretation: »It seems that support for a gender differentiated vision of sexuality, while revealing the persistence of an asymmetrical vision of the positions of women and men in society as a whole, contributes to solving the tension women must

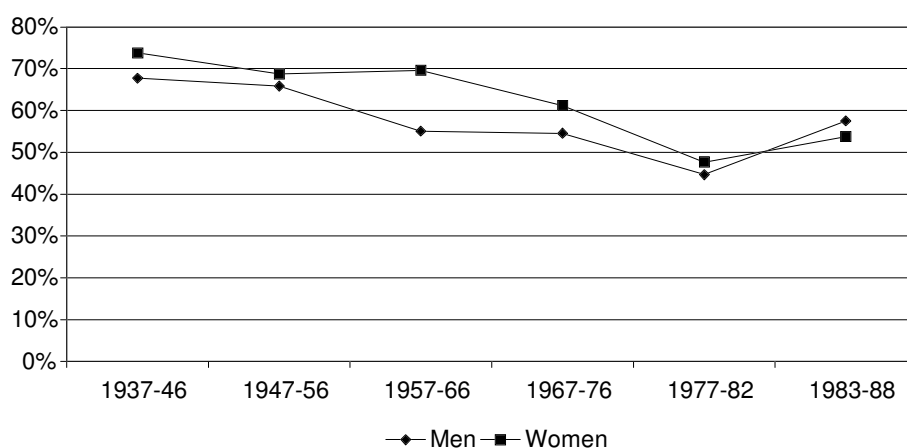


Fig. 6: *In sexuality, feelings are more important for women, and physical pleasure is more important for men: percentage of consensus among women and men, by birth cohort (ISI – Italian survey, 2006).*

Sl. 6: *Na področju spolnosti so za ženske pomembnejša čustva in za moške fizični užitek: strinjanje med moškimi in ženskami iz različnih starostnih skupin v odstotkih (ISI – Italijanska raziskava, 2006).*

face that stems from a distortion between egalitarian representations and practices which are much less so» (Bajos, Ferrand, Andro, 2008, 559).

Looking at the question more broadly, it is by understanding the overall construction of gender relations in heterosexuality that we can find the reasons for the persistence, albeit under new forms, of a double standard, according to which women are supposed to anchor the emerging meanings of sexuality and the valuing of sexual experimentation to a relational context, implying some form of emotional involvement. With regard to men, a purely hedonistic notion of sexuality builds on the historically established model of the sexual conquest as a natural, and therefore legitimate way of satisfying their instincts, while for women this notion continues to be perceived as incompatible with their 'true', natural desires, and their reputation.

ANOTHER SIDE OF THE STORY

In order to grasp the specific configuration of heterosexual sexuality in Italy, the data discussed above point to the need to integrate current stories on the recent changes in sexuality with a story on the construction of masculinity and male sexuality in this country. This can be sketched around the growing body of historical and social research on masculinity in Italy.

Italian historians have pointed to the legacy of Fascism to explain the power of the predatory model. Fascism engaged in a programme of «virilisation» of Italian men, which aimed to construct a «new man», valuing activism and aggressiveness over self-control, a construction that was played in anti-bourgeois and anti-feminist terms (Benadusi, 2005). This model, which the Fascist elite, starting from Mussolini, was supposed to embody, implied an open legitimisation of the sexual double standard. In this respect, some argue that it differed from the Catholic model of respectability, which the regime deployed for the social control of the masses.

«Of course the double standard, which was a general feature of Western countries in the 19th and 20th centuries, was not specific to Fascist Italy. Here however the class-specific features of the moral system emerged more clearly; it was a system that praised the 'virile' licence while imposing puritanism on the masses [...] Besides proudly claiming sexual rights for men belonging to the élite, the regime showed [...] great tolerance towards the 'vices' – going to brothels; extramarital relations – that were a traditional prerogative of male chauvinism. It does not seem wrong to presume that the regime, if it

had been left free to act according to its intentions, would have left greater space to male sexuality» (Wan-rooij, 1990, 130)

In the post-war years, the stability of the family and the male power within it continued to establish restrictions which proved impossible to overcome, despite the changes in gender relations triggered by the growing presence of women on the public scene (Bellassai, 2000). The persistence of the double standard can be seen in state regulation of prostitution, which was compulsorily organised in brothels until 1958 (Bellassai, 2006).

The social and economic changes of the Sixties corresponded to the stabilisation and homogenisation of men's life courses. The prevailing family model, partly corresponding to contemporary practices, and partly remaining an aspirational model, became that of the bourgeois nuclear family, with the man taking up the role of sole breadwinner.

It was above all in the Seventies that men's power in the family was most strongly challenged, by changes in public discourse on women's desires and by women's demands in interpersonal heterosexual relationships, where men increasingly found themselves head-to-head with women who refused to follow the established sexual scripts of institutionalised heterosexuality (Bellassai, 2004).

However in the ways men have faced these challenges we can see important elements of resistance, not only concerning sexuality. Besides the great resistance to women's presence in political leadership, with regard to gender relations in the family there is men's very limited participation in domestic work, something that has been indicated as an outstanding Italian specificity in comparative analyses of European countries (Schizzerotto, 2007).

Interpreted by some scholars as part of this resistance to change, there is also a global trend which has been making strong headway in the Italian media and public discourse in recent years, namely the medicalisation of male sexuality (Marshall, Katz, 2002). Italy has been witnessing a proliferation of campaigns on male sexual health that pathologise men's failure to be ever-ready as sign of erectile dysfunction, to be treated with the available pharmaceutical devices.⁵ Initially targeted at middle aged and older men, these campaigns are increasingly being extended to younger men, defining men's performance failures throughout their life course as a medical problem.

5 See, for instance, the campaign «Amare senza pensieri» (www.amaresenzapensieri.it), and the recent initiative of the Minister of Health, «Amico andrologo» (www.amicoandrologo.it).

This is actually part of a more general trend towards the medicalisation of the male body (Boni, 2004) which is taking hold in Italian culture, in specific forms. Boni (2008) has described, for instance, the spectacularisation of the body performed by the Italian »mass superleader« Berlusconi, which combines narratives of the therapeutic culture, with representations of a medicalised body, with virilising Latin macho imagery, in narrations about intense (hetero)sexual activity.⁶

CONCLUSION: NATURALISATION IN PROGRESS

In this article we have drawn attention to the need for a gendered perspective, including a focus on masculinity, when it comes to understanding the features and local specificities of sexuality in Italy.

A crucial issue emerges from the discussion, namely the enduring power of the social processes that naturalise male sexuality, despite the challenges from women's emerging aspirations to more egalitarian relations, and their growing resources for negotiating them.

In their recent work on sexuality, Jackson and Scott (2010, 135) argue that, together with trends towards

medicalisation, biological explanations of gender differences, which are very widespread in popular culture nowadays, are crucial resources for neutralising the possibility that more egalitarian models of sexuality, like the one based on intimacy, might call male identity into question: »Evolutionary psychology has become a resource for sexual self-making, which may have particular appeal to men. It is, however, a totalizing and universalizing account of how men are, which allows for very little variability among them, minimal complexity in their motivations and limited opportunity for social change except to the degree that men can control their 'primitive biological urges'«.

The growing strength of these biologising tendencies, as a global trend but also in their specific local version (in Italy building on the well-established script of the predatory male) once more shows that looking at constructions of masculinity is crucial when it comes to understanding changes in sexuality: it can help us find the global, and local, reasons why a linear progression towards the greater gender symmetry that the notion of a plastic sexuality seemed to promise has failed to materialise.

PREUČEVATI JE TREBA TUDI MOŠKOST: RAZUMEVANJE S SPOLOM POVEZANIH DIMENZIJ (HETERO)SEKSUALNOSTI V ITALIJI

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POVZETEK

Članek se ukvarja z načini preučevanja spreminjajoče se konstrukcije razlik med spoloma, ki nam lahko pomagajo razumeti značilnosti in posebnosti heteroseksualne spolnosti v Italiji. Avtorici trdita, da je treba raziskati konstrukcije moškosti v spolnosti in s spolnostjo. Da bi ponazorili najine trditve, predstaviva interpretacije s spolom povezane konstrukcije heteroseksualne spolnosti, sklicujoč se na spoznanja, pridobljena na podlagi nedavnih podatkov o spolnem vedenju in stališčih o spolnosti v tej deželi.

Pri osmišljanju sprememb v spolnosti se specifičnosti, povezane s spolom, običajno tematizira z razpravljanjem o ženskih izkušnjah. Družbene in kulturološke spremembe v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja so ženskam prinesle vse večjo neodvisnost in možnost, da si umislijo in ustvarijo vse bolj selektivne in simetrične odnose z moškimi. Obenem so raziskave o spolnem vedenju pokazale, da je prav z ženskami povezan italijanski zaostanek pri sprejemanju bolj sekulariziranega in pluralističnega seksualnega življenjskega sloga. Preučevanje sprememb v opome-

6 The other side of the virilisation of Italian political and media discourse can be found in the denigratory media campaigns, increasing the stigmatisation of deviant male sexualities. See for instance the insinuations about the homosexuality of the director of an important Catholic newspaper, Boffo, leading to his resignation, and the revelations about the President of the Lazio Region having sex with transsexuals, due to which he too resigned.

njanju tako ženske kot moške spolnosti nam pomaga postaviti pod vprašaj interpretacijo, ki se raje osredotoča na ženske in njihovo izpostavljenost družbenemu nadzoru kakor na načine, kako družbeni nadzor vključuje moški pogled in ustvarja s spolom pogojena pojmovanja spolnosti. Glede na to, da trdoživo vztrajanje pri poudarjanju dobrega imena ženske in razlikovanje med spoštovanja vrednimi in lahkimi ženskami nista poniknila, marveč le privzela nove, bolj prefinjene oblike, lahko trdimo, da je moška spolnost definirana kot torišče sle, ki je tako naravna in samoumevna, da ostaja nevidna. Dejstvo je, da je prepričanje, da je moška spolna sla že po naravi močnejša od ženske, v enaki meri razširjeno tako med ženskami kot moškimi in se s starostnimi skupinami ne spreminja.

Tovrstni podatki opozarjajo, da je treba trenutno aktualne zgodbe o nedavnih spremembah na področju spolnosti v Italiji povezati z zgodbo o konstrukciji moškosti in moške spolnosti v tej deželi. V grobem jo lahko očrtamo okoli vse večjega števila zgodovinskih in socioloških raziskav o moškosti v Italiji: od zapuščine fašističnega programa »virilizacije« italijanskih moških, s katero lahko pojasnimo uveljavljenost modela, ki moškega pojmuje kot lovca, preko pomembnejših elementov upora, ki se ne nanašajo le na spolnost, vse do nedavnega ženskega prespraševanja moške nadvlade v družini, vključno z zelo omejenim sodelovanjem italijanskih moških v gospodinjstvu. Poleg tega lahko tudi medikalizacijo moške spolnosti interpretiramo kot del upiranja spremembam.

V zaključku poudarja, da nam posvečanje več pozornosti trdoživosti družbenih procesov, ki naturalizirajo moško spolnost kljub vse izrazitejšim ženskim težnjam po enakopravnejših odnosih, lahko pomaga odkriti razlog, zakaj se premočrtno usmerjen razvoj k večji simetriji med spoloma, ki jo je obetal koncept plastične spolnosti, ni uspel uresničiti.

Ključne besede: moškost, spolnost, naturalizacija, heteroseksualnost, Italija

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RESEARCH ON YOUNG PEOPLE'S SEXUALITY IN CROATIA AND SLOVENIA, 1971–2008: A SYSTEMATIC OVERVIEW

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ABSTRACT

A systematic overview of research on youth sexuality and its main findings in Croatia and Slovenia during the period 1971–2008 is presented. The aim was to analyze the development of a particular type of research in the two countries characterized by an absence of sexological tradition. Research studies from four decades are contextualized – taking into account specific socio-historic and ideological underpinnings – and critically assessed. The analysis highlights the role of international dissemination of ideas and knowledge, particularly in the context of peripheral research communities.

Key words: sex research, young people, sexuality, reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, sexual risk-taking, Croatia, Slovenia

UN ESAME SISTEMATICO DELLE RICERCHE SULLA SESSUALITÀ GIOVANILE IN CROAZIA E SLOVENIA TRA IL 1971 E IL 2008

SINTESI

L'articolo propone un esame sistematico delle ricerche sulla sessualità giovanile in Croazia e Slovenia tra il 1971 e il 2008. Scopo principale dell'esame era di analizzare lo sviluppo di specifiche modalità di ricerca nei due paesi, caratterizzati entrambi dalla mancanza di una tradizione sessuologica. Il lavoro si propone come un'analisi critica degli studi compiuti negli ultimi quarant'anni, nel rispetto delle specificità dei rispettivi contesti storico-sociali e ideologici. Un breve inquadramento storico della ricerca sulla sessualità giovanile in Croazia e Slovenia getta luce sul ruolo esercitato dalla disseminazione delle idee e della conoscenza, in particolare nel caso di comunità di ricerca marginali.

Parole chiave: ricerche sulla sessualità, giovani, sessualità, salute riproduttiva, HIV/AIDS, rischio sessuale, Croazia, Slovenia

INTRODUCTION

Young people's sexuality is socially relevant in a myriad of ways. One example is public health concerns. Sexual risk-taking, associated with a lack of information and reckless sexual experimenting, is often the starting point for behavioral studies among adolescents and young adults (Koyama et al, 2009; Santelli et al., 2006; Štulhofer, 1999). On a global scale, young people are among the populations especially vulnerable to HIV and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Hindin, Fatusi, 2009; Panchaud et al., 2000). Thus, levels and predictors of sexual risk-taking are analyzed to inform prevention and intervention programs aiming at protecting young people's reproductive health (Ingham, Aggleton, 2006). Prevention of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and adolescent pregnancies remains at the core of societal concerns for young people's health.

Another aspect is moral concerns. Traditionally, the topic of sexuality has been a battleground where liberal and permissive social groups would challenge traditionalists, often religiously inspired. In this context, adolescent sexuality has been a particularly sensitive and charged issue. In the second half of the previous century, rising popularity of pre-marital sexual activity marked the end of traditional morality based on the notion of chastity. In this respect, young people's sexual liberation became an almost revolutionary movement, fiercely contested by traditional moral authorities. Although the opposition to pre-marital sexuality – made obsolete by sex-saturated popular culture (McNair, 2002) – mostly disappeared from public life, adolescent sexuality remains a controversial issue, as demonstrated in debates about school-based sex education and concerns regarding young people's exposure to pornography. In this respect, research focusing on sexual risk-taking among adolescents and young adults continues to be more socially acceptable, even in the developed world, than studies that deal with sex-positive, pleasure-oriented topics.

As studies of young people's sexuality often reflect both the health-related and morality-related social relevance, they offer an intriguing insight into relationship between science and society. Reconstructing the development of this research area, especially in countries with no sexological tradition, should not only provide information about changes in sexual mores and associ-

ated pleasures and hazards, but also a view of the social regulation of sexuality articulated within research on youth sexuality.

This paper presents a systematic overview and critical assessment of research studies on young people's sexuality in Slovenia and Croatia.¹ The analysis covers a period of almost four decades, from the early 1970s to the present, tracing cultural and societal changes that influenced research agenda and the ideas about adolescent sexuality that shaped them.

METHODOLOGY

Several inclusion criteria guided the search for studies to be reviewed. It was decided that only studies with clearly defined methodology, published as research reports or in scholarly journals and books, would be taken into account. This left out unpublished research studies presented at conferences, as they often provide insufficient information about the study design and the type of analyses carried out. When needed, attention was also paid to authors' institutional affiliations and educational background to verify the character of a study.

Relevant studies were searched for using national electronic databases and checking references listed in already selected papers. Studies authored by either medical or social scientists were included. A couple of studies were added to the final list during interviews with key informants. Eight semi-structured interviews were carried out (four in Croatia and four in Slovenia)² with some of the individuals who played pivotal roles in research on young people's sexuality during the analyzed period. The interviews were conducted to gain contextual information about the relevant research, particularly in regard to possible restriction regarding research on this topic. Selected studies were analyzed using a standardized matrix in which essential methodological details and main findings were entered (cf. Appendices). The basic findings reported in the appendices are not discussed in the following sections, which focus on the socio-historical contextualization of the studies and their findings.

RESEARCH ON YOUNG PEOPLE'S SEXUALITY:
CROATIA AND SLOVENIA, 1971–2008

The analysis of research on young people's sexuality in Croatia and Slovenia is divided into four periods, tracing main characteristics for both countries in each period.³

1 The article is result of a bilateral research project »Socio-cultural and psycho-social aspects of sexual health in young people in Slovenia and Croatia: A review of research studies, 1970–2008« (2009–2010), financially supported by Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia and Slovenian Research Agency.

2 Interviewees for the Croatian part of the project were: Aleksandra Beluhan, Marija Džepina, Vlasta Hiršl-Hečej, Pavel Trenc, and Dunja Obersnel Kveder, Bojana Pinter, Katja Stražičar, and Milena Skubic for the Slovenian part.

3 Information regarding each survey taken into account and basic data from these surveys are presented in tables at the end of the article.

The 1970s

The seventies were characterized by initial surveys on sexual behavior of young people in Croatia. During the same period, the surveys in Slovenia focused on contraceptive and reproductive behavior rather than the patterns of sexual activity.

Croatia: Western Permissiveness and Socialist Youth

The first study of human sexuality in Croatia appeared in 1971 (Trenc, Beluhan, 1971). It was a survey of adolescent sexual behavior carried out on a stratified sample of high-school students in the capital city. This focus on young people was motivated by institutional, as well as personal, reasons. The former were related to an expanding focus of service delivery at the Department of Family Planning of the Institute for Mother and Child Welfare in Zagreb. At that time, the Department was moving from catering exclusively to adults to including young people. On a personal level, the study reflected the keen sexological interest (influenced by Kinsey and sex research in Germany in the 1960s) of one of the two authors. The main rationale that the authors stated for carrying out such a novel study was the need for a »scientific inquiry« into claims, popular at the time, suggesting the rampant immorality of youth. The concern was that socialist youth in the former Yugoslavia were becoming decadent and corrupt by Western hedonism expressed primarily in rock music and subcultural lifestyles. Responding to this moral panic, the authors – a psychiatrist and a young sociologist – set out to calm the public (Trenc, Beluhan, 1971, 276–277).

Quite revolutionarily, the study asked about the experiences of masturbation (70% of men and 22% women reported to have masturbated) and the frequency of orgasm. One third of female participants was unable to answer the question or could not understand the question. Overall, the study placed more emphasis on emotional and pleasure aspects of young people's sexuality than on the risk-taking behaviors which would become *de rigueur* in the coming decades. In addition, the authors were interested in measuring the strength of dominant social norms among young people. A large majority of participants (over 80%) considered homosexuality unacceptable. Premarital sex, however, was rejected only by a minority of surveyed high-school students (37% of males and 21% of females).

The study turned out to be a pilot for a similar but larger study carried out a couple of years later on a stratified national sample of high-school students (Trenc,

Beluhan, 1973). In the introduction to the 1973 study, the authors underscored their scientific approach to human sexuality, which they considered instrumental for planning sex educational activities. As with the pilot study, the results of the 1973 study pointed to low levels of contraceptive use and a »regrettable lack of information« about human reproduction and sexuality. Interestingly, while in the 1971 study the authors refer to homosexuality as a »deviant phenomenon,« reflecting the criminal status of same-sex behavior (homosexuality was decriminalized in 1977), two years later they mention it only *in passé* and in a neutral context.

In the conclusion of the 1973 national study, the authors refuted calls to label Croatian adolescent sexuality an example of »pro-Western decadence.« During the next decade, this consistently and openly liberal and moderately permissive standpoint, with its focus on prosexual aspects of youth sexuality would be systematically replaced by a more medically-oriented emphasis on sexual risk-taking. For the emerging paradigm, primarily concerned with reproductive health issues, sexuality was becoming an inherently risky activity.

Slovenia: The Focus on Contraceptive and Reproductive Behaviors

In comparison with Croatia, research on sexuality in general, and on youth sexuality in particular, began in Slovenia only at the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s, i.e. in the period of societal and political transition. The 1970s are characterized by the well-developed research on contraceptive and reproductive issues, however this research focused mainly on general population (and was often limited to married women) and did not include questions on sexual behavior.⁴

The question why there is no research on young people's sexuality prior to the end of the 1980s in Slovenia remains difficult to answer. It could be said that young people's sexuality as such was not socially recognized as problematic until the end of the 1980s. In the 1970s and in the 1980s (public health) research mainly focused on the questions of fertility and contraception (family planning period), and questions of risky sexual behavior (e.g. STDs and AIDS) were not relevant yet. However, the first survey on sexual behavior of adolescents (Stražičar et al., 1990) was already motivated by the concern about changes in sexual behavior of young people that the authors of the survey observed in everyday work with young people.

According to Dunja Obersnel Kveder (Švab, 2009), the 1970s were »the beginning of a more relaxed

4 One of the leading research institutions in the field of family planning and contraception at that time was the Institute for family planning – in 1972 chosen by WHO as one of the world's 16 clinical research centers. In 1974 the first survey on abortion was carried out there, which became referential also in the international public health care context (Švab, 2009).

attitude toward sexuality due to the free access to contraception (especially the pill)⁵ and abortion. This right was not hidden within the private sphere of the individual but has become present in the public sphere as other human rights and the state was obliged to enable conditions for the realization of these rights.⁶

This indicates that Slovenia, like Croatia, also has witnessed a pronounced change of sexual life styles, especially in the younger generation, since the end of the sixties. Therefore, the absence of research on youth sexuality in Slovenia in the seventies and most of the eighties seems surprising. On a general level its absence can be explained by the fact that sexual behavior research was seen as highly relevant neither politically nor scientifically. But in the final analysis it can be probably be explained by the same fact as its presence in Croatia, i.e. by the absence of individuals who would venture research initiative in a new field. The Croatian case demonstrates that such an initiative could have also been successful in Slovenia.

The 1980s

In Croatia, the surveys carried out in this period were primarily oriented toward the issues of reproductive and sexual health. At the end of the period, the global HIV/AIDS epidemic prompted a new research focus – sexual risk-taking among youth. In Slovenia this period is still characterized by lack of research on young people sexual behavior, and the first survey on sexual behavior of adolescents was carried out only in 1989.

Croatia: The Era of the Reproductive Health Concerns and the Advent of HIV/AIDS

The main purpose of studies in this period was to collect data that would assist in the prevention of unwanted pregnancies and abortions among adolescent and young adult females. Most of these early efforts were initiated by the director of the Department of Family Planning of the Institute for Mother and Child Welfare in Zagreb, Dubravka Štampar. After returning from professional training in the USA and the UK in the 1960s, she gradually developed a number of projects on family planning and reproductive health. It was in the late 1970s and early 1980s that reproductive health of adolescents and young adults became the priority for the

Department of Family Planning. Several research studies, carried out mainly by medical professionals affiliated with the Department, ensued. Two of the three major studies from this period focused on high-school students in Zagreb (Džepina et al., 1988; Stražišćar, 1990). They both examined behaviors that were relevant for questions related to family planning, especially the use of birth control methods.

The first AIDS case in Croatia was registered in 1985. The new global epidemic spurred research and enabled rapid development of theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of young people's sexuality. This development was delayed in Croatia, but at the end of the decade the first study on HIV-related behaviors was finally carried out. It was conducted on a large national sample (combining probability and non-probability sampling methods) using an elaborate knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and practices (KABP) questionnaire (Ajduković et al., 1991). This landmark study, authored by psychologists, marked a shift toward theoretically informed approach to sexual risk-taking and hypothesis-based analysis. In addition to its goal of informing public health policy, the study generated new interest for scientific assessment of sexual risk-taking and sexual behavior in general.

The 1989 study enabled a new development in which the more narrow focus of the family planning and reproductive health research agenda was gradually replaced by more sophisticated studies focusing on sexual risk-taking. A decrease in adolescent pregnancies and abortions on the one hand and increasing risks of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases facilitated this transition. The new approach to youth sexuality opened the way, both theoretically and methodologically, to a more diversified research on youth sexuality.

Slovenia: An Absence of Research on Young People's Sexuality

In the field of sex research in Slovenia, the 1980s are characterized by the continued lack of research, as the first behavioral surveys in the field of sexuality were carried out only at the end of the decade. In 1989 the first survey on fertility, contraception and abortion on general population (Kožuš Novak et al., 1990; Andolšek Jeras et al., 1993) and the first survey on sexual behavior of adolescents (Stražišćar et al., 1990a; 1990b) were car-

5 Domestic production of oral contraceptive pill started in 1964 (Boh, 1995).

6 Slovenia has adopted resolution on family planning which also stressed education in the field of health and sexuality, and emphasized the need for education for human relations between genders, including education for responsibility regarding pregnancy and birth of a child. This enabled individual human right for making decisions and choice regarding reproduction. According to Obersnel Kveder, (Švab, 2009) this was extremely modern stance, even for the developed Europe. This Resolution was a basis for Health Measures in Exercising Freedom of Choice in Childbearing Act (adopted in 1977), which enabled the right to abortion, contraception and medical treatment of infertility. These were also a basis for systematic introduction of sex education into the school system and establishment of premarital and marital counseling.

ried out. These two surveys indicated the need to research changes in sexual behavior and can be considered the first two surveys on sexual behavior in Slovenia.

Similarly as in Croatia, the purpose of the first study on sexual behavior of adolescents in Slovenia, conducted in 1989, was to assist in the prevention of unwanted pregnancies and STDs. According to the authors of the research, Katja Stražičar and Milena Skubic, the AIDS epidemic (the first HIV positive person in Slovenia was recorded in 1986) played a key role in establishing the need to systematically research the sexual behavior of adolescents, but this need was not yet institutionally recognized (Kuhar, 2009a). Their research therefore stemmed from their own work with high-school students in the school dispensary of the Health center in Ljubljana and was conducted without any financial resources. The results of the research, which was binational (carried out on high school students in Croatian and Slovenian capitals), were not used for policy making, but rather for a better organization of the work in the school dispenser in Ljubljana. Unlike later studies on sexual behaviors of adolescents, Stražičar's and Skubic's research design was not based on the similar international studies from abroad. Nevertheless, it surveyed typical healthcare topics such as the first sexual intercourse and the use of the contraception. The research showed that about 10% of adolescents experience their first sexual intercourse by the age of 15, and 49% of boys and 38% of girls did not use any contraception during the first sexual intercourse. The authors believe that adolescents in Ljubljana enter into sexual life »unprepared, unprotected, often with fear and the sense of guilt« (Stražičar et al., 1990, 44), but, most of all, too early. From the healthcare perspective such behavior is considered risky, especially in the context of unwanted pregnancies and STDs. The authors point out that risk is also gendered; boys are understood as bearing a higher risk since most of the available services (such as Family planning clinics) cater mostly to women. They suggested that free condoms should be made available for men. The first research on sexual behavior of adolescents in Slovenia did not address the issues of sexual violence and sexual minorities.

The 1990s

The third analyzed decade was characterized by further development of sex research, particularly in two directions: reproductive health and family planning, and HIV-related sexual risk-taking. The latter became predominant at the end of this period. Growing public concerns for health risks related to sexual behavior were also the context of the development of sex research in Slovenia where one exploratory and three comprehensive surveys of high-school students' sexual behavior were conducted in the second half of the nineties,

marking the first attempts of systematic research of youth sexual behaviors.

Croatia: The Risks of HIV/AIDS

The first half of the 1990s witnessed the process of post-communist transition and the war for independence. The role of the Catholic Church became more prominent in this period, as well as the ruling political elite's support for re-traditionalization, which merged Croatian national identity with Catholicism. Not surprisingly, concern for negative demographic trends became an essential part of the popular nationalist discourse, together with calls to ban abortion.

During this period, research on young people's sexuality was scarce. Although it mostly remained associated with the reproductive health and family planning agenda (Džepina, Prebeg, 1991; Grujić-Koračin et al., 1993), some interest was also directed at studying HIV-related sexual risk-taking (Pavičić et al., 2003). Toward the end of the 1990s this line of research became predominant. The second half of the decade was marked by a number of studies that focused on sexual risk-taking (Štulhofer, 1999; Štulhofer et al., 2000; Hiršl-Hečej, Štulhofer, 2001). By including data on pleasure aspects of sexuality and sex attitudes, these studies, however, tried to balance positive and negative (risk-taking) aspects of young people's sexuality. Questions on orgasm and masturbation, as well as those on same-sex sexual experiences, became increasingly common. The trend of social scientists becoming involved in research on youth sexuality that took off with the first Croatian study on HIV/AIDS risks (Ajduković et al., 1991) continued. Importantly, studies carried out by social scientists were characterized by more robust methodological approaches and the use of more sophisticated statistical analyses. HIV/AIDS related research introduced the first explicit efforts to conceptualize sexual behavior and offer theoretical accounts for adolescent sexual risk-taking behavior (Ajduković et al., 1991; Štulhofer, 1999). The involvement of social scientists substantially improved conceptual, methodological, and analytical characteristic of research on young people's sexuality. The field became more sophisticated in terms of sampling and statistical analysis. The use of composite indicators and standardization of behavioral measures became the norm.

Most of the studies conducted at the end of the 1990s called for an introduction of school-based sex education, pointing at worrying levels of risk-taking, despite an observed increase in condom use. The efforts to influence educational policy met resistance and criticism from the Church authorities. Perhaps most notable was the attack on the MemoAIDS program, the first and only peer-based HIV prevention program designed for high-school students (cf. Čuk, 2004). Coordinated at-

tacks from the Croatian Bishops' Conference and Croatian Catholic Physicians' Association greatly contributed to the program's limited success in reaching its targets. MemoAIDS never received explicit and unequivocal support from the Ministry of Education.

As in the previous decade, most studies were of limited geographical reach and focused on high-school or university students. Out-of-school youth remained completely absent from the research. After a quarter of century of studying youth sexuality, Croatia still lacked a national probability study.

Slovenia: First Attempts of Systematic Research of Youth Sexual Behaviors

Under the pressure of growing public concern for health risks related to sexual behavior and international research trends on this topic, one exploratory and three comprehensive surveys of youth (precisely, high-school students') sexual behavior were conducted in Slovenia in the second half of the nineties. These studies signaled an attempt to initiate research in the field in which Slovenia lagged ostensibly behind the international trends and to provide policy and public relevant data. As can be expected, all four surveys focused strongly on risk aspects of youth sexuality. This tendency was especially pronounced in the national survey of high-school students' sexual behavior conducted by Bojana Pinter, a gynecologist, and an exploratory study preceding it, whereas the other two surveys, conducted by a group of social scientists, focused also on other aspects of high-school students' sexual behavior and its social and cultural context.

The design of the two surveys conducted by social scientists was identical. The questionnaire used in the surveys followed closely a research instrument that was previously used in Germany (Schmidt et al., 1993) and Austria (Nöstlinger, Wimmer-Puchinger, 1994). The first survey was conducted in 1995 (Bernik et al., 1996; Bernik, Hlebec, 1996) and focused on the representative sample of secondary school students in Ljubljana, whereas the 1997 study was a part of an international comparative study which was conducted in the capitals or other larger cities of eight post-socialist states (Maribor and Koper in Slovenia).

Due to the design of these studies, which did not focus only on risk aspects of adolescent sexuality and international comparability, the surveys resulted in a complex picture of adolescent sexuality in Slovenia. The general impression conveyed by the data was that in main aspects of their sexual behavior, Slovenian adolescents did not differ much from their counterparts in Austria and Germany and also in some of the surveyed post-socialist states. For instance, the share of young men and women who experienced at least one heterosexual intercourse at the age of 17 or earlier (approx-

mately 50%) was similar to the corresponding shares in most Central European states, including Germany and Austria (Schmidt, 2004, 315). But the data also indicated that the prevailing patterns of sexual behavior of Slovenian youth were – especially in comparison to (West) Germany, where the study was conducted only in large cities – rather traditional. Young men's sexuality was generally more impulsive than women's. Men reported more initiative and more sexual partners, lower numbers of sexual intercourse in their life so far, and higher satisfaction with the first sexual intercourse than women but lower satisfaction with the last experience (Bernik, Hlebec, 2000). The reported use of contraceptives was, in comparison to Austria and Germany, low both at the first and the last intercourse. Like their Austrian and German counterparts, Slovenian adolescents were well-informed about HIV/AIDS, but the high risk awareness was not reflected in their reported sexual behavior.

The data also indicated that in Slovenia youth sexuality was far from being homogenous. Not only was there a clear difference between male and female patterns of sexual conduct, but adolescent sexuality differed strongly also in regards to the type of school attended and parents' social status. Nevertheless, religiosity and church attendance were not significantly related to the variations in patterns of sexual behavior.

The comparison of Slovenian data to Austrian and German data has shown that the post-socialist transition had little immediate influence on the patterns of adolescents' sexual conduct. Comparison of some data from seven post-socialist states also spoke in favor of this claim. No homogenous patterns of adolescents' sexual conduct were found in post-socialist states, i.e. differences across states were often more obvious than similarities (Bernik, Hlebec, 2005).

As already indicated, the nineties brought two new healthcare surveys on sexual behavior of adolescents, which were framed similarly to the first healthcare research on adolescents in Slovenia (unwanted pregnancies, STDs) and conducted in similar circumstances (lack of institutional and financial support). The first healthcare survey on adolescents in the nineties was conducted in 1994 by two high-school students, who participated in the students' project »Znanost mladini« on initiating young people into science (Androjna, Krčmar, 1994). Their survey, focusing on high-school students in Ljubljana, was supervised by Bojana Pinter, who conducted the first national healthcare survey on sexual behavior of adolescents in Slovenia two years later, in 1996. The 1996 study (which was part of a larger study on risk factors of high-school students in Slovenia) was directly linked to Pinter's participation in the Management of the Reproductive Health seminar in the Netherlands in 1994, organized exclusively for participants from Eastern Europe. At this conference, Pinter sketched a plan for the Adolescents' centers in Slovenia, which

links gynecologists and other medical personnel dealing with adolescents in different parts of Slovenia, into a network. It was this network that later enabled the execution of the 1996 national survey (which was repeated again in 2004).

Both research projects focused mostly on the negative outcomes of sexuality. The goal of the researchers was therefore to estimate risk and consequently to encourage the protection of the sexual and reproductive health of adolescents. The research namely showed that more than half of students surveyed are sexually active in high school. Similarly to Stražičar and Skubic, Pinter also concludes that young men are at higher risk due to the fact that they have more sexual partners compared to young women (13.3% of men and 20.5% of women surveyed had only one sexual partner in their lifetime).

The 2000s

In Croatia, this period is represented by a relatively rapid development of sex research, extending the scope of interest and substantially improving research methodology. In the same period, only a few surveys were carried out on youth sexuality in Slovenia, primarily focusing on risky sexual behaviors.

Croatia: Risks and Pleasures – Toward an Emancipation of Sex Research

The 2000s witnessed the fastest growth and development of research on human sexuality since the first studies in the 1970s. This is reflected in the number of studies, diversity of topics, and methodological innovations found in the studies carried out in this decade. Research has also been taken into cyberspace, as several studies used online surveying.⁷ Building on the developments from the late 1990s, the studies often analyzed both positive and negative aspects of youth sexuality.

Social scientists, particularly sociologists, continued to have a pivotal role in this new wave of research. Given the slow progress in implementation of sexual health prevention and sex education on the one hand and the increasing STI vulnerability of Croatian adolescents and young adults on the other hand (cf. Marijan et al., 2007; Milutin-Gasperov et al., 2007), public health remained a strong concern. In addition, a number of new aspects of youth sexuality, including those related to the sexually permissive popular culture, were introduced into research studies.

In 2003, an additional impetus for research on sexual risk-taking was given by the Global Fund grant awarded to the Croatian Ministry of Health and Social Welfare to support HIV prevention and treatment programs. This enabled the first national household-based probability study on young people's sexuality, which was carried out in 2005 by an interdisciplinary team of social and medical researchers (Štulhofer et al., 2006). The study used a compact KABP survey in which sexual behaviors were assessed by self-administered questionnaire. The result was the most comprehensive survey to date that provided baseline indicators.

Except, perhaps, for the longitudinal study that sampled first-year students at the University of Zagreb during the 1998–2008 period (Štulhofer, 1999; Štulhofer, Jureša, Mamula, 2000; 2004; Landripet et al., 2010; Štulhofer et al., 2010), the other studies conducted in the 2000s had a more limited focus than the 2005 national survey. Topics ranged from patterns of condom use (Hiršl-Hečej, Štulhofer, 2006) and sexual risk-taking behavior (Kuzman et al., 2004; Kuzman et al., 2008) to HIV/AIDS prevention program evaluation (Hiršl-Hečej et al., 2006).

At the moment, research on youth sexuality in Croatia continues to be the work of a handful of individuals. It remains on the margins of mainstream social science with little or no influence on policy making.⁸ Such disadvantages may prove to be difficult to overcome in the coming years regardless of the fact that sex research in Croatia has never been closer to the international standards.

Slovenia: The Marginalization of Sex Research Lingers On

In Slovenia the research on human sexuality in 2000s remains scarce. There has been no sociological research conducted in the field and the health care approach to researching sexuality in Slovenia continues to prevail also in 2000s. It means that youth sexuality continues to be researched mostly from the negative aspects, such as risks. There is no strong financial support for such research, and the field remains marginal in the social sciences. Interestingly enough, unlike in Croatia, in Slovenia new methodological innovations, such as researching in cyber-space, have not yet been used to research sexuality.⁹

7 The studies focused on pornography use, sexual satisfaction, cybersex, and anal eroticism.

8 This was especially the case during the heated debates in mid-2000s about the introduction of sex education.

9 The first national study on intimate lifestyles of students in Slovenia (research team: Kogovšek – project leader, Bernik, Klavs, Kuhar, Švab, Bergant) conducted in the period from December 2010 to February 2011 is designed as internet survey on a representative sample of Slovenian students. The data are not yet available.

There have been two research projects on youth sexuality conducted in 2000s. In 2004 Bojana Pinter repeated her study from 1996. Although an early entrance into sexual life is constructed as normal and as »something very ordinary« in the 1996 study, the data on the age at first intercourse from 2004 are interpreted as worrying. In 1996 the adolescents entered into sexual life at 18.5, on average, while in 2004 they had their first sexual intercourse, on average, at age of 17. The authors believe that this is a result of the lack of sexual education in schools. In their opinion young people should be more encouraged to use condoms and double protection (the use of condom and the pill at the same time), and they should also be advised to delay their first sexual intercourse (Pinter et al., 2006, 618).

The research also found an increase in same-sex experiences among women. While 2.5% of women surveyed reported having same-sex experiences in 1996, such experiences were reported by 10% of women in 2004. A similar finding was reported in the longitudinal study on Croatian college students (Landripet et al., 2010). The authors believe that such an increase in same-sex experiences is problematic and can be explained by media popularization of homosexuality (Pinter et al., 2006, 619).

In 2001 Slovenian Institute for Health Protection joined the longitudinal research project HBSC (Health Behavior in School-Aged Children), which is conducted by the World Health Organization and includes few questions on sexual behavior of school-aged children (first intercourse, use of condoms etc.). As in Croatia (Kuzman et al., 2004; 2008), this research study has been conducted in Slovenia twice (in 2001 and 2005).

According to the Slovenian research group, the data from this research have been used by governmental institutions and ministries, for example, in the renovation of the health education in schools.¹⁰ Pinter reports somewhat different attitudes of the governmental institutions towards the results from her studies (Kuhar, 2009b). She has presented the results from her two national studies to the Ministry of Health and pointed to the need to re-incorporate health education into the school system but her words fell on deaf ears. Health education was namely removed from the official high school curriculum in the early nineties during the renovation of the Slovenian school programs. It was explained that sexuality should be addressed during all the courses where appropriate, but experiences showed that sexuality was more or less not addressed at all. It was addressed only in the context of the extra-curriculum activities (Kuhar, 2009b).

DISCUSSION

The overview of youth sexuality research in Croatia and Slovenia in the last four decades indicates that development of this research area has been characterized by a changing interplay between the research practice and its socio-cultural and political context. This interplay has been marked mainly by the following three influences: (a) an international diffusion of reproductive health and family planning initiatives; (b) the emergence of HIV/AIDS crisis; and (c) the process of post-socialist transition.

Although political and cultural processes in the second half of the sixties and seventies were similar in Croatia and Slovenia, there were obvious differences in the ways in which research in the field of youth sexuality, and sexual behavior in general, emerged. Both federal republics of then Yugoslavia experienced a gradual transition from ascetic socialism into a society with some elements of consumerism. In these circumstances the first post-war generation was growing up. This generation's lifestyles, including their sexual ones, differed markedly from the lifestyles of older generations. Despite the change of sexual culture, which was met by apprehension both on the part of authorities and older generations, sexuality had not been an important topic for public discourse. In these circumstances it was unlikely that youth sexual behavior would be considered as a relevant topic of systematic research. Nevertheless, the first surveys of youth sexual behavior were conducted in Croatia in the seventies and in Slovenia almost two decades later.

The absence of any research in the field of sexual behavior in the seventies and in most of the eighties in Slovenia reflects both the social circumstances and the prevailing mood in the scientific community. From this point of view, the emergence of youth sexual behavior research in Croatia in the seventies seems highly atypical. But it illustrates how a new field of research can emerge in an unsupportive environment. It seems that it depended mostly on an initiative of individuals who were cognizant of international research trends in the field and had insight into social and cultural currents in their own society. Drawing on these resources they were able to use narrow opportunities to introduce a new research topic. But this breakthrough was not followed by a systematic research until the end of the 1980s.

The early nineties can, in both countries, be considered as the beginning of a more or less continuous stream of youth sexuality research. This process has been mainly conditioned by the external – wider social and scientific – circumstances. Precisely, the revival of

10 E-mail communication with Helena Jeriček from the Institute for Health Protection.

youth sexuality research in Croatia and its beginnings in Slovenia have been mainly related to reproductive health and family planning initiatives and the emerging HIV/AIDS crisis. It has not only generated a need for valid information on (especially) youth sexual behavior, but has also made sexuality (or at least some of its aspects) a relevant topic in public discourse. It has also stimulated internationalization of sex behavior research and its standardization in a sense that it has increasingly focused on risk aspects of sexuality. This development occurred in the context of an increasing social and political influence of the Catholic Church, particularly in Croatia.

Considering these circumstances, the revival of youth sexuality research in Croatia and its beginnings in Slovenia in the 1990s seem highly expected. The same applies to the further development of the research field. Although the studies focused primarily on risk aspects of youth sexual behavior, the research field has been characterized – as far as number of research activities have been concerned and the scope of research questions – by increased differentiation. Despite the fact that this process has been sometimes uncoordinated and has led to fragmentation of research activities, a rather complex tradition of youth sexual behavior research has been established in the last two decades in both countries.

Both the chronological and thematic overview of youth sexuality research in Croatia and Slovenia indicate that the post-socialism transition has had no immediate effect in the research activities in this field. Although in the time of socialism research of youth sexual behavior was definitely not among the research priorities, it was not – as the Croatian studies in the seventies demonstrate – a politically forbidden and culturally irrelevant research topic. In the 1990s a more favorable social climate for sexual behavior research has not been created by the regime transformation but mostly by the need to deal with new risks related to sexual behavior. At the same time, an increase in the political and cultural influence of the Church, made possible by the regime change, has made clashing attitudes toward sexuality and sex research more publicly visible.

Although most of the studies in youth sexuality have been motivated, or at least legitimated, by practical concerns, they have had – due to the absence of systematic communication and the existence of ideological differences between researchers and policy makers – almost no immediate effects on relevant health and educational policies. Paradoxically, the main achievement of these studies has been the establishment of sexual behavior

research as an autonomous and largely self-referential research field.

CONCLUSIONS

The short history of research on young people's sexuality in Croatia and Slovenia has been characterized, in general, by a liberal and pro-sexual stance. This, of course, is hardly unique. Sex researchers tend to view their subject with a permissive, rather than sexually restrictive, bent. Although the influence of the Catholic Church increased during post-communist transition, particularly in Croatia (Bijelić, 2008), sex research in both countries is increasingly indistinguishable from international sexology. It remains, however, marginalized and on the fringe of scholarly enterprise.

Difficulties and shortcomings associated with research on young people's sexuality in Slovenia and Croatia were generated by a number of factors. Like other post-communist countries (the Czech Republic being the notable exception), both countries lack sexological tradition. This absence of continuity and incremental building of disciplinary knowledge and expertise significantly delayed the introduction of theory-based assumptions and more sophisticated methodological approaches. The lack of educational or training programs in research on human sexuality in Slovenia and Croatia, both in medical or social sciences continues to impede the development of sex research. Without educational and institutional foundations, it is increasingly difficult to attract young scholars to the field.

Another contributing factor to the difficulties and shortcomings associated with research on young people's sexuality is underdeveloped interdisciplinary communication. Although there have been a few examples of successful cross-disciplinary cooperation in both countries, the ties between the social and medical sciences remain weak and sporadic. A future development of sex research seems unlikely without the creation of multi-disciplinary research groups. To accomplish this, however, more than an unusual scientific interest may be required. Stronger ties with policymaking, particularly in the areas of education (e.g. school-based sex education), public health (reproductive and sexual health), and youth care are urgently needed. Needless to say, such a relationship would also benefit the policymaking side, as scholarship on young people's sexuality continues to provide data needed for evidence-based policy planning.

Appendix 1: Studies conducted in Croatia, 1971–2008.**Priloga 1: Na Hrvatskem izvedene raziskave v obdobju 1971–2008.**

Study	Year	Sample							
		N (% _f / % _m)	Sexually experi- enced (%)	Sexually experi- enced by sex F / M ¹¹ (%)	Age range	Target population	Geographical reach	Sample type	Data collection means
1. Trenc, Beluhan, 1971; Štampar et al., 1987	1971	435 (51.5/48.5)	23	16/30	15-19	High school students	Zagreb	Two stage probabilistic	Group interviewing
2. Beluhan et al., 1973; Trenc, Beluhan, 1973; Štampar, Pejić, Benić, 1978	1972	2,317 (46.9/53.1)	38	17.7/55.8	16-19	High school students from professional schools and gymnasiums (grades 2, 3)	All six regions in Croatia in 26 municipalities	Multi-stage probabilistic	Group interviewing
3. Džepina et al., 1988	N/A ¹²	700 (65.9/34.1)	29.7	20.8/46.9	16-20	High school students	Zagreb	N/A	N/A
4. Stražičar et al., 1990	1989	530 (59.6/40.4)	58.7	60.0/58.0	N/A (mean: 18)	High school students	Zagreb	Probabilistic	Group interviewing
5. Ajduković et al., 1991	1989	2,655 (53/47)	67.3	59.2/76.7	15-30	General population	Croatia	Quota (non-probabilistic)	Group interviewing
6. Džepina, Prebeg, 1991; Štampar, Beluhan, 1991; Grujić-Koračin et al., 1993	1990	5,324 (53.7/46.3)	N/A	22.1/48.9	15-19	High school students	Zagreb, Rijeka, Osijek, Split, Biograd (on the sea), Ogulin	Probabilistic	N/A
7. Pavičić et al., 2003	1996-1998	955 (57.6/42.4)	26.2	25.3/27.1	16-18	High school students	Zagreb and surroundings	Probabilistic	Group interviewing
8. Hiršl-Hečej, Štulhofer, 2001 ¹³	1997	2,070 (59.7/40.3)	33.1	24.3/46.3	15-19	High school students (10 schools)	Zagreb	N/A	Group interviewing
9. Štulhofer, 1999	1998	413 (36.4/63.6)	47.2	N/A	17-20	Fourth year high school students	Zagreb, Karlovac, Bjelovar, Osijek, Split, Buje	Convenience-based (non-probabilistic)	Group interviewing
10. Štulhofer et al., 2000 ¹⁴	1998	1,355 (47.2/52.8)	56.5	51.3/61.0	17-23 ¹⁵	First year university students	University of Zagreb	Proportional stratified (probabilistic)	Group interviewing
11. Hiršl-Hečej, Štulhofer, 2006	2001	1,972 (62.5/37.5)	31.7	25.8/41.5	15-19	High school students	Zagreb	N/A	Group interviewing
12. Kuzman et al., 2004; Currie et al., 2004	2002	1,446 (56.7/43.3)	15.6	9.7/23.2	14-15	High school students (first grade)	Croatia	Cluster (probabilistic)	Group interviewing

11 Female/male.

12 Not available.

13 Some of the data were taken from the larger technical research report (Hiršl Hečej, 1998).

14 Analysis of the data from the same study was also presented in the technical research report (Štulhofer et al., 1999).

15 About 90% of participants were either 18 or 19 years old.

13. Štulhofer et al., 2004	2003	537 (52.9/47.1)	59.2	56.1/62.7	18-23 ¹⁶	First year university students	University of Zagreb	Proportional, stratified (probabilistic)	Group interviewing
14. Hiršl-Hečej et al., 2006	2004	2,259 (61.6/38.4)	26.7	23.6/31.7	16	Second grade high school students (82 schools)	Croatia	Probabilistic	Group interviewing
15. Štulhofer et al., 2006	2005	1,093 (52.5/47.5)	84.4	81.7/86.9	18-24	General population	Croatia	Stratified (probabilistic)	Individual interviewing (households)
16. Hiršl-Hečej et al., 2006	2006	2,168 (61.7/38.3)	N/A	N/A	16	Second grade high school students (82 schools)	Croatia	Probabilistic	Group interviewing
17. Kuzman et al., 2008; Currie, et al., 2008	2006	1,630 (52.6/47.4)	22.3	16.5/28.6	14-15	High school students (first grade)	Croatia	Cluster (probabilistic)	Group interviewing
18. Landripet et al., 2010; Štulhofer et al., 2010	2008	775 (55.2/44.8)	69.0	66.4/72.3	18-25 ¹⁷	First year university students	University of Zagreb	Proportional stratified (probabilistic)	Group interviewing

Appendix 2: Studies conducted in Slovenia, 1971–2008.**Priloga 2: V Sloveniji izvedene raziskave v obdobju 1971–2008.**

Study	Year	Sample							
		N (%f / %m)	Sexually experienced (%)	Sexually experience d by sex F / M (%)	Age range	Target population	Geographical reach	Sample type	Data collection means
1. Stražičar et al., 1990	1989	514 (59.5/40.5)	14	17/11	N/A (mean: 18)	High school students	Slovenia and Croatia	Probabilistic	Group interviewing
2. Androjna, Krčmar, 1994	1994	1,670 (52.3/47.7)	48.5	42/55	15.5 - 17.4	High school students (first and third grade)	Ljubljana	Representative	Group interviewing
3. Bernik et al., 1995		783 (52/48)	51	51/52	17-19 (mean: 17.59)	High school students	Ljubljana	Convenience-based	Group interviewing
4. Pinter, Tomori, 2000	1996	4,706 (53/47)	20	21/19	16-19 (mean: 17.3)	High school students	Slovenia	Representative	Group interviewing
5. Godina et al., 1997	1997	923 (47/53)	55.6	54.1/56.9	17-19 (mean: 17.59)	High school students	Maribor, Koper	Convenience-based	Group interviewing
6. Currie et al., 2004	2001/ 02	1,500	26.2	21.6/30.8	15	High school students (first grade)	Slovenia	Representative	Group interviewing
7. Pinter et al., 2006	2004	2,380 (45/55)	53	54/52	14.7- 18.1	High school students (first and third grade)	Slovenia	Representative	Group interviewing
8. Jeriček et al., 2007; Currie et al., 2008	2005/ 2006	5,119 (50.2/49.8)	23.3	17/29.5	15	High school students (first grade)	Slovenia	Representative	Group interviewing

16 About 86% of participants were 18 or 19 years old.

17 About 68% of the participants were 18-19 years old.

Appendix 3: Studies conducted in Croatia 1971–2008, main results.**Priloga 3: Na Hrvatskem izvedene raziskave v obdobju 1971–2008, glavni rezultati.**

Study	Sexual debut				Sexual partners		Contraception (%)						
	Mean age (F / M)	Median age (F / M)	<15 yrs of age (%) (F / M)	<16 yrs of age (%) (F / M)	Total (F / M)	Past year (F / M)	At the first intercourse			At the last intercourse			Consistent condom use
							Nothing	With- drawal method	Condom	Nothing	With- drawal method	Condom	
1. Trenc, Beluhan, 1971; Štampar et al., 1987	N/A	N/A	N/A	M:16=49.9 17=53.5 18=64.4 19=80.5 F:16=11.1 17=17.6 18=69 19=60.8	N/A	N/A	30-40 ¹⁸	34.5-42	15.5-18.4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2. Beluhan et al., 1973; Trenc, Beluhan, 1973; Štampar, Pejić, Benić, 1978	N/A	N/A	N/A	9.5 / 26 ¹⁹	N/A	1=17/ 2.5 ²⁰ 2=5/14 3=1/6 4=0/3 5=1/10	39-65	28-13	33-7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
3. Džepina et al., 1988	16.05 (16.2/15.9)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
4. Stražičar et al., 1990	N/A	16.5 (16.5/17.0)	2.0 (2.0/2.0)	10.6 (10.0/11.0)	N/A	N/A	58.2	33.6	8.2	N/A	N/A	N/A	37.0
5. Ajduković et al., 1991	17.5 (17.9/17.1)	N/A	5.9 (4.0/7.6)	30.5 ²¹ (22.7/37.2)	4.8 (2.8/6.6)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	4.5
6. Džepina, Prebeg, 1991; Štampar, Beluhan, 1991; Grujić- Koračin et al., 1993	N/A	N/A	N/A	4.5/31.1	F:1=60.8 2-5=16.1 5+=3.0 N/A=20.1 M:1=21.1 2-5=22.1 5+=18.9	N/A	60	10.5 ²²	19.8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
7. Pavičić et al., 2003	15.5 (15.9/15.1)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	7.6	70.8	N/A	4	67.2	N/A
8. Hiršl- Hečej, Štulhofer, 2001	15.81 (N/A)	16 (N/A)	2.7/5.6	11.3/19.8	M:1=35.0 2+=65.0 F:1=60.7 2+=39.3	N/A	24.6	18.2 ²³	45.3	21.7	16.5	48.1	43.3
9. Štulhofer et al., 2000	16.9 (17.1/16.7)	17 (17/17)	5.1 (3.7/6.2)	12.7 (11.3/13.7)	2.8 (2.0/3.4)	N/A	24.6	17.0	55.5	N/A	N/A	N/A	51.0
10. Štul- hofer, 1999	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	44.0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
11. Hiršl- Hečej, Štulhofer, 2006	15.91 (N/A)	16 (N/A)	N/A	N/A	2.3 (N/A)	N/A	N/A	N/A	64.5	N/A	N/A	59.4	48.7
12. Kuzman et al., 2004; Currie et al., 2004	14.2 (14.5/14.0)	N/A	7.2 (3.1/12.6)	13.4 (7.8/20.7)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	21.6	2.7	74.7	N/A

18 Timeframe for the use of protection was not specified.

19 21% of participants did not remember at what age they experienced first intercourse, while 14.5% of males and 16% of females refused to answer.

20 The indicator includes only the 18 year olds; in 1973, 42.5% of males and 77% of females were not sexually experienced at the age of 18.

21 Includes participants who reported sexual debut at the age of 16 or earlier.

22 Including natural birth control methods.

23 Including natural birth control methods.

13. Štulhofer et al., 2004	17.0 (17.2/16.8)	17 (17/17)	4.7 (4.4/5.1)	9.4 (6.3/12.7)	2.9 (2.4/3.3)	1.4 (1.3/1.4)	20.8	9.1	65.1	15.6	15.6	54.0	50.8
14. Hiršl-Hečej et al., 2006	N/A	N/A	N/A	17.5 (14.9/22.0)	TOTAL 1=53.6 2=24.4 3+=21.9 M:1=44 2=25.5 3+=30.5 F:1=61.9 2=23.5 3+=14.6	TOTAL 1=55.3 2>=9.4 M:1=41.1 2>=12.7 F:1=67.5 2>=6.5	16.2	10.4	71.5	17.9	8.8	67.6	N/A
15. Štulhofer et al., 2006	17.3 (17.6/17.0)	17 (17/17)	3.9 (2.3/5.4)	11.0 (7.5/14.6)	4.4 (3.3/5.5)	1.6 (1.3/1.8)	19.9	18.4	60.4	20.6	16.5	52.9	21.4 ²⁴
16. Hiršl-Hečej et al., 2006	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	TOTAL 1=58.4 2=6.5 3+=5.9	N/A	N/A	75.4	N/A	N/A	72.5	N/A
17. Kuzman et al., 2008; Currie et al., 2008	N/A	N/A	11.2 (7.0/15.9)	20.1 (14.6/26.2)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	13.5	9.6	76.5	N/A
18. Landri-pet et al., 2010; Štulhofer et al., 2010	17.0 (17.2/16.8)	17 (17/17)	4.5 (4.2/4.8)	12.9 (13.0/12.7)	3.3 (2.5/4.2)	1.5 (1.3/1.8)	12.9	8.8	67.5	18.4	9.8	53.1	51.8

Appendix 4: Studies conducted in Slovenia 1971–2008, main results.**Priloga 4: V Sloveniji izvedene raziskave v obdobju 1971–2008, glavni rezultati.**

Study	Sexual debut				Sexual partners		Contraception (%)						
	Mean age (F / M)	Median age (F / M)	<15 yrs of age (%) (F / M)	<16 yrs of age (%) (F / M)	Total (F / M)	Past year (F / M)	At the first intercourse			At the last intercourse			Consistent condom use
							Nothing	With- drawal method	Condom	Nothing	With- drawal method	Condom	
1. Stražičar et al., 1990	N/A	N/A	10/11	17/11	1 partner (32/22) 2 or more (18/34)	N/A	F: 38 M: 49	F: 44 M: 35	F: 13 M: 15	F: 56 M: 65	N/A	N/A	N/A
2. Androjna, Krčmar, 1994	15.1/14.1	18.5	22/37	42/55	2.1/3	N/A	32	10	47	15	8	53	N/A
3. Bernik et al., 1995	15.5	16	13.8/21	30.7/38	2.4/ 4.2	N/A	58	3.1	39.1	44	N/A	36	Always: 28.1
4. Pinter, Tomori, 2000	15.9/15.5	18.4/19	N/A	21/19	1 partner (20.5 /13.3)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	F: 6.7 M: 7.1	F: 2.1 M: 0.5	F: 17.6 M: 28.3	N/A
5. Godina et al., 1997	15.7	16	20.1/23.1	35.7/39.8	4.3/2.4	N/A	42	1.9	53.2	32	2.7	46.4	Always: 37.6
6. Currie et al., 2004	14.4/14.1	N/A	21.6/30.8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	F: 67.6 M: 80.4	N/A
7. Pinter et al., 2006	N/A	17	21/24	54/52	Mean: 2	N/A	8.5	3.5	74.5	7.5	3.5	57.5	N/A
8. Jeriček et al., 2007; Currie et. al, 2008	N/A	N/A	17/29.5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	F: 2.5 M: 9.9	F: 27.3 M: 20.9	F: 79 M: 70.9	N/A

24 The result pertains to the previous 12 months.

RAZISKOVANJE SEKSUALNOSTI MLADIH NA HRVAŠKEM IN V SLOVENIJI V OBDOBJU 1971–2008: SISTEMATIČNI PREGLED

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POVZETEK

V članku je podan sistematični pregled raziskovanja seksualnosti mladih na Hrvaškem in v Sloveniji v obdobju med letoma 1971 in 2008. Glavni namen pregleda je bil analizirati razvoj specifičnega načina raziskovanja v obeh državah, ki ga označuje pomanjkanje seksološke tradicije. Avtorji članka kritično analizirajo raziskave ter jih pri tem kontekstualizirajo, upoštevajoč socialno-kulturne in ideološke posebnosti obeh držav. Članek analizira podobnosti in razlike med obema državama ter teoretske in metodološke pomanjkljivosti ter omejitve raziskav. Pregled raziskovanja seksualnosti mladih na Hrvaškem in v Sloveniji v zadnjih štirih desetletjih je pokazal, da razvoj tega raziskovalnega področja označuje spreminjajoče se razmerje med raziskovalno prakso in njenim socialno-kulturnim ter političnim kontekstom. To razmerje označujejo predvsem naslednji trije vplivi: (a) mednarodno razširjanje iniciativ s področja reproduktivnega zdravja in načrtovanja družine; (b) pojav krize HIV/AIDS; (c) proces postsocialistične tranzicije. Med državama so očitne razlike v zgodovini raziskovanja seksualnosti mladih. Prve raziskave so bile na Hrvaškem izvedene že v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, v Sloveniji pa skoraj dve desetletji kasneje, kljub temu da so bili družbeni, politični in kulturni procesi v drugi polovici šestdesetih in v sedemdesetih letih v obeh državah podobni.

Pomanjkanje raziskovanja na področju seksualnosti v Sloveniji v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih odraža tako družbene razmere kot tudi splošno klimo v znanstveni skupnosti. Zgodnja devetdeseta lahko v obeh državah opredelimo kot začetek bolj ali manj kontinuiranega raziskovanja seksualnosti mladih. Na ta proces so v glavnem vplivale zunanje – širše družbene in znanstvene okoliščine. Kronološki in vsebinski pregled raziskovanja seksualnosti mladih na Hrvaškem in v Sloveniji kaže, da postsocialistična tranzicija ni neposredno vplivala na raziskovalne aktivnosti na tem področju. Bolj naklonjena družbena klima za raziskovanje seksualnega vedenja ni rezultat spremembe režima, temveč potrebe soočenja z novimi tveganji na področju seksualnega vedenja.

Ključne besede: raziskovanje seksualnosti, mladi, seksualnost, reproduktivno zdravje, HIV/AIDS, seksualno tveganje, Hrvaška, Slovenija

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FREE-FLOATING SEXUALITY AND ITS LIMITS. THE SOCIAL CONDITIONING OF EARLY FIRST HETEROSEXUAL INTERCOURSE IN SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

The article aims to assess the empirical relevance of the claim that contemporary Western sexuality is increasingly free-floating. After defining free-floatingness as the progressive decoupling of sexuality from social and cultural constraints, it focuses on the association of some social factors with the timing of the first heterosexual intercourse (FHI) in Slovenia. The theoretical expectation that this association is weak, especially in the younger age cohort, is only partly confirmed by the data. They indicate that among men the timing of FHI is largely disembedded from its social context, yet this is not the case with women. On this basis, it may be argued that the claim about the decoupling of sexual behaviour from its social and cultural context – even if it is meant to indicate just a trend of change – is questionable.

Key words: sexuality, sociology of sexuality, sexual revolution, modern societies, sexual culture, first heterosexual intercourse

LA LIBERE FLUTTUAZIONI DELLA SESSUALITÀ E I SUOI LIMITI. CONDIZIONAMENTI SOCIALI E PRECOCITÀ DEI PRIMI RAPPORTI SESSUALI ETEROSESSUALI IN SLOVENIA

SINTESI

Scopo dell'articolo è controllare empiricamente la rilevanza di alcuni aspetti della tesi secondo la quale nelle società occidentali contemporanee la sessualità sia sempre più libera, intendendo con ciò riferirsi anche a una riduzione della sua esposizione a limitazioni di natura sociale e culturale. Nell'articolo, il rapporto tra decisioni riguardanti la sessualità e circostanze sociali viene analizzato in riferimento ai condizionamenti sociali sull'età dei partner al momento del primo rapporto sessuale in Slovenia. I dati confermano solo in parte le previsioni teoriche in base alle quali tale forma di condizionamento – in particolare nella generazione più giovane – sarebbe debole. Nei maschi, l'ingresso nella vita sessuale di coppia è più o meno indipendente dalle circostanze sociali analizzate, mentre nelle femmine tale correlazione è abbastanza forte e non ci sono indizi che possano far pensare a una sua diminuzione. A giudicare dal caso analizzato, la validità della tesi riguardante Le libere fluttuazioni sessualità è dunque da mettere in discussione.

Parole chiave: sessualità, sociologia della sessualità, rivoluzione sessuale, società moderne, cultura sessuale, primo rapporto sessuale eterosessuale

NEO-SEXUAL REVOLUTION AND FREE-FLOATING SEXUALITY

Theoretical analyses of changes in the social organisation of sexuality in Western societies in the last five decades suggest that their course has been far from linear. The sexual revolution in the 1960s represented a dramatic break with the established sexual morality and forms of sexual behaviour, yet these breakthroughs were soon endangered by the »counterrevolutionary forces« which took sway in the 1980s (McLaren, 1999, 193–218). However, only a decade later the field was again marked by transformations which »are indeed revolutionary, and in a very profound way« (Giddens, 1992a, 3; also see Weeks, 2003, 114; Bauman, 1999, 25). These transformations have recently amounted to nothing short of a »neo-sexual revolution« (Sigusch, 1998, 4–7).

Although most authors theorising the recent transformations of sexuality agree about their revolutionary character, there is not much consensus on why they deserve this designation. Nevertheless, in analyses of the phenomenal aspects of the neo-sexual revolution the processes of differentiation and individualisation most often come to the fore. According to these views, the revolutionised sexuality is characterised by »the cacophony of options« (Weeks in Schmidt, 1998, 227). To cope with this situation, men and women have to organise all aspects of their sexual life »in a self-determined way that nevertheless respects others' limits and boundaries« (Schmidt, 1998, 227).

The process of differentiation in the field of sexuality has been facilitated by the demise of the remnants of repressive sexual morality and the ascent of »moral pluralism« (Weeks, 2003, 85). This cultural transformation has withered away the normative constraints to which sexual activities were exposed in the Western world until recent times. To use the broad options created by the new sexual culture and to act »in a self-determined, way« individuals have to possess resources which enable them to recognise the possibilities for action, to make competent decisions and to act on this basis. In other words, the neo-sexual revolution has only been possible in so far as the transformations of sexual culture have been complemented by processes of the »sexual empowerment« of individuals and the social equalisation of sources of power in intimate life. The key component of the former process has been the increase in individuals' competencies to organise their sexual life autonomously and of the latter one towards gender equalisation, i.e. the elimination of unequal access to power resources for men and women.

These processes have enabled the unprecedented individualisation of sexual expression. Nevertheless, as already indicated, contemporary Western sexuality is not characterised by unlimited »self-determination«. All

partnered sexual activities are constrained by a general demand to respect the partner's »limits and boundaries«. This demand not only has pragmatic grounds (i.e. it facilitates sexual communication and is obeyed for this reason) but is an expression of a general social norm which »explicitly forbids treating another sensation-seeker as a sex object« (Bauman, 1999, 32). This norm constitutes the core of new sexual morality. In contrast to the pre-revolutionary morality, it does not regulate sexual preferences and activities in detail, i.e. does not endorse certain sexual acts and prohibits the others, but it only protects the autonomy of sexual partners and thus sets general »guidelines« for communication between sexual partners (see Weeks, 2003, 84). Precisely, it defines the cultural and social space in which negotiations between sexual partners, »founded on a belief in consensual, ratified behavior, and in explicit verbal agreement« (Schmidt, 1998, 225), are conducted.

The processes of the differentiation and individualisation of sexuality are embedded in wider social and cultural transformations of societies which are termed by different analysts as modern with different prefixes (high, late, post, reflexive etc.). Neither differentiation nor individualisation is limited solely to the field of sexuality. They pervade all social spheres. Therefore, the transformations of sexuality can be seen as an expression of the growing complexity and fragmentation of contemporary societies. Paradoxically, these processes have made the socio-cultural organisation of sexuality basically similar to the organisation of other societal subsystems, but at the same time they have led to the structural and functional separation of sexuality from them. In other words, structural social forces which have induced the neo-sexual revolution have also contributed to the self-referential cultural and social organisation of sexuality. In consequence, the field of sexuality has been increasingly underdetermined by external social and cultural forces. This idea has been emphatically expressed in the claims about the free-floating character of contemporary sexuality (see Giddens, 1992a, 14; Bauman, 1999, 28).

Although different authors express the idea of neo-sexual revolution in different ways, the basic logic of its explanation seems to be relatively uniform. This can be well exemplified by Giddens' influential account of the transformations of »sexuality, love and eroticism in modern societies« (1992a). Four concepts feature prominently in his analysis – pure relationship, confluent love, democratisation of intimacy and reflexive construction of individual identity. The first two refer to the interactional and normative framework which structures sexual in sexuality-related intimate communication in high modern societies. The conditions and modalities of partnered sexual activities are negotiated in relationships which are free of external constraints. It also implies that partners enter this type of sexual-intimate relationship and persist in it as long as they experience it as more

gratifying (and dignifying) than other available relationships (see Giddens, 1992a, 58). The democratisation of intimacy refers both to the preconditions and results of a pure relationship. It is founded on the autonomy of partners and their equality in power resources (see Giddens, 1992a, 118–192). Broad equality in rights and resources enables a pure relationship, but at the same time makes the outcomes of »intimate negotiations« unstable and the relationship vulnerable. Finally, the notion of reflexivity points to individuals' endeavours to cope with the multitude of options and uncertainties related to them. With the rise of morality of negotiation, individuals have to possess the ability to make decisions, to deal with the unintended consequences of decisions and to integrate them into a meaningful whole, which is the basis of a (changeable) sexual identity (see Giddens, 1992a, 28–32).

For those who value the tradition of sociological ideas more than innovations in terminology, the background ideas of Giddens' and similar accounts of neo-sexual revolution are not as novel as they are often presented to be. In many respects they resemble the classical accounts of Western modernisation, most obviously Durkheim's analyses of the rise of individualism in modern societies. As is well known, Durkheim argues that the core modernisation processes have been social differentiation (»the division of social labour«) and the generalisation of cultural values and norms, which has culminated in the »cult of the individual« (Durkheim, 1992, 48; see Lukes, 1988, 156–158). These processes have led on the societal level to the functional separation of social spheres, whereas on the micro level they have enabled the voluntaristic aspects of social actions to come to the fore. The autonomy of individuals based on the functional differentiation and generalisation of values has provided fertile grounds for individualism. Nevertheless, the function of the overriding »cult of the individual« has not only been to foster individualism, but also – by demanding, as Giddens puts it »respect for the independent views and personal traits of the other« (1992a, 189) – to provide a robust normative framework for the variety of social interactions. Despite this, in the age of individualism – as Durkheim emphatically stresses – individuals and their social ties are exposed to uncertainties and social solidarity can be undermined by excessive individualism.

Even if we leave aside other classical accounts of Western modernisation, which can also be productively used to explain the modernisation of sexuality (see Bernik, 2010), the question cannot be avoided of why these ideas have not been employed in studying transformations of sexuality until recently. It seems that the answer lies in the fact that the modernisation of sexuality has not run parallel to the pace of other social spheres' transformations. More precisely, traditional sexual morality and forms of sexual behaviour survived long into

modern era to be finally transformed in a revolutionary way in the second half of the twentieth century and – according to those arguing for the neo-sexual revolution – once again at the end of the century. Considering this, it can be argued that studying the delayed – in comparison to the other social spheres – modernisation of sexuality demands the highly selective use of mainstream sociological ideas and primarily a high level of theoretical innovativeness. Needless to say, this has been an easily recognisable hallmark of the analyses of the neo-sexual revolution.

The claim about the delayed modernisation of sexuality can be challenged considering the results of (the few) sexual behaviour surveys conducted before the first sexual revolution. When they were published, their results were upsetting because they revealed a pronounced gap between the uniformity and rigidity of the prevailing sexual morality and the diversity and flexibility of the reported sexual behaviour (see Ericksen, Steffen, 1999; Kinsey et al., 1948). In other words, the surveys suggested that the »pre-revolutionary« sexuality was far from being unchangeable and monolithic. On this basis, it may be argued that the transformations of sexuality started much earlier and have been more congruent with the modernisation of other social spheres than is assumed by the »delayed modernisation« thesis, but its slow transformations have been invisible to the public eye. Moreover, they have not been visible even to the mainstream social sciences. But when the transformations of sexuality have finally been »discovered«, they have been termed revolutionary (or neo-revolutionary). From this point of view, the modernisation of sexuality has not been delayed, but is mostly invisible.

In our view, the thesis about the invisible modernisation of sexuality seems heuristically more promising than the delayed modernisation thesis. It points to the low level of attention the mainstream social sciences have paid to the systematic study of sexuality and their inability to duly detect the signs of change in this »remote« social sphere. It seems that the recent growth of research on transformations of sexuality has tried to make up for the long-lasting sociological neglect of this topic. Yet, despite the growing stock of knowledge on changes in sexual behaviour and attitudes accumulated by surveys in the last five decades, the theories of neo-sexual revolution pay surprisingly little attention to it. Most of them seem good examples of »free-floating« theorising which neither tries to generalise on the basis of systematic empirical knowledge nor expresses its propositions in a form that allows the testing of their validity. The predicament of such theorising is well expressed in the claim that »the post-modernization of sex is much more prevalent in the *discourses* on sexuality than in the real sex lives of men and women« and that the neo-sexual revolution »has apparently reached only a minority, the lucky daring few« (Schmidt, 1998, 238). It seems that

these »daring few« are mostly (young) men and women of the upper middle class, i.e. people inhabiting the social world to which most sociologists belong.

In line with our claim that the main flaw of the theorising on the neo-sexual revolution is its inattention to »the real sex lives of men and women«, i.e. to empirical evidence on trends of change in contemporary sexuality. The aim of this article is to examine the empirical relevance of the claim about the free-floating character of contemporary sexuality using the example of early first heterosexual intercourse (FHI) and exploring its embeddedness in the social context in Slovenia. Precisely, by considering data stemming from a national survey of sexual lifestyles in Slovenia (Klavs, 2002) the article will try to find out to what extent some aspects of sexual behaviour have been freed from social constraints.

SOCIAL (DIS)EMBEDDEDNESS OF THE TIMING OF FIRST SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The concept of free-floating sexuality is broad enough to allow many different interpretations and accentuations. As indicated, this article will focus only on its behavioural aspect, i.e. on the idea that in the course of the neo-sexual revolution sexual behaviour is getting increasingly idiosyncratic and fluid. This claim implies that social differences (such as age, gender, place of residence etc.) and inequalities in power resources are no longer related in any systematic way to variations in sexual behaviour. The same applies to cultural constraints. In an increasingly pluralistic sexual culture, individuals can freely select the cultural guidelines which best suit their sexual preferences, provided that their decisions and actions do not violate the abstract »cult of the individual«. As sexual biographies are undetermined by individuals' social and cultural status, they are also becoming increasingly unpredictable. In other words, the neo-sexual revolution transforms once stable and well integrated sexual biographies into a loose array of discrete preferences, decisions and experiences. In these circumstances, »a person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor ... in the reactions of the others, but in the capacity to keep particular narrative going« (Giddens, 1992b, 54), i.e. in a person's ability to integrate repeatedly the fragments, which constitute her or his sexual life, into a meaningful biography.

Our analysis cannot address the question of the social and cultural (dis)embeddedness of sexual biographies in the era of the neo-sexual revolution in its full complexity, but focuses just on one biographical event – first sexual intercourse (FSI). As this experience also has many aspects, the analysis will be limited to only one of

them, i.e. its temporal dimension. We will examine the question of to which extent the timing of FSI is free-floating with regard to some aspects of individuals' social status.

Theoretical thesis: FSI as the key event in sexual life courses

The decision to limit our analysis to the timing of FSI has been motivated by a broad consensus in sexual behaviour research that data about the modalities of FSI provide on the one hand a valuable insight into the prevailing sexual culture and patterns of social organisation of sexual life and on the other hand into individual responses to cultural and social circumstances. Even in societies with permissive sexual culture the FSI has an exceptional symbolic value (see Laumann, 1994, 321) and represents on the biographical level »one of the most central turning points in the sexual life course« (Haavio-Mannila et al., 2002, 51). Considering this, it can be argued that data on the modalities of FSI do not speak of this event only, but provide important information about the social and individual scripts guiding the process of sexual growing up and the entry to partnered sexual life.

As indicated by Bozon (1996, 143–175), the latter claim applies especially to data about the timing of one's FSI. His analysis of entry to the world of adult sexuality in France shows that the timing of the FSI is strongly related to many aspects of the subsequent sexual life course. According to his findings, early starters have a more complex sexual life than late starters: »They have far more sexual partners than the others, not just during adolescence but throughout their lives, including periods of conjugal existence. These are the individuals who have the largest number of extra-conjugal partners, who get married the least, and who are most likely to have separations. They also have the greatest diversity of sexual experiences and practices. Lastly, they are more likely than the others to believe that sexuality can be dissociated from emotions« (1996, 173).¹ Nevertheless, these findings do not apply to men and women equally. Whereas men who experienced their FSI early differ from their late starting counterparts in both their behaviour and attitudes, the respective categories of women vary mostly in behaviour and much less in attitudes.

A replication of Bozon's study based on secondary data from five Western European states (including France) showed that a similar relationship between the timing of the FSI and subsequent sexual life can be found elsewhere. In all the analysed states the early starters tend to have a more complex sexual life than the late ones, but the differences between both categories are

1 In Bozon's study, the categories of early and late starters are defined relatively, i.e., 25 percent of respondents in each generation who experienced their FSI the earliest belong to the early starters and the same share of those who had their first intercourse the latest to the late starters (see Bozon, 1996, 163).

more pronounced in sexual behaviour than in attitudes. Again, this applies more to men than women; the early starters among women differ significantly from their late starting counterparts in sexual behaviour, but only slightly in attitudes (see Bozon, Kontula, 1998, 56–60).

Similarly, the first national Slovenian general population survey about sexual lifestyles, attitudes and health showed that, in comparison with individuals experiencing their first heterosexual intercourse (FHI) at a more mature age, those reporting an early FHI (before the age of 16) were more likely to have had higher odds for at least two heterosexual partners during the year preceding the survey and at least 10 lifetime heterosexual partners. In addition, women with an early FHI were more likely to report having been a teenage mother than those with a later FHI and the proportion of men who reported having been diagnosed with at least one bacterial sexually transmitted infection was higher among men with an early FHI than those with a later FHI (see Klavs et al., 2006).

When explaining his findings Bozon acknowledges that »the first sexual intercourse is doubtless not a decisive event in its own right« (1996, 173). Although his analysis shows that its modalities are related to the respondents' social status, he argues that »its timing and circumstances in which it occurs are revealing of an order of priority held by individuals« (Bozon, 1996, 173). Both the characteristics of the FSI and subsequent sexual life course are in his view influenced primarily by individuals' dispositions towards sexuality. Social structural forces are important only insofar as they influence the formation of these dispositions. In this perspective, »the fact of having begun sexual life early is related to attitudes that are reinforced during adolescence and remain present throughout one's life« (Bozon, 1996, 169).

The claim about the paramount role of the individual's dispositions in shaping one's sexual life course is only partly in accordance with the views that high-modern/post-modern life courses are socially underdetermined. It suggests that the effect of social structures (such as educational status and gender) on the timing of one's FSI is mediated by attitudes, which can be highly personal and thus independent of the individual's social status. If one's attitudes are free-floating, i.e. highly individualised, the same applies to other aspects of his or her sexual life course. But Bozon argues that these attitudes – once they have formed – remain relatively im-

mutable through one's whole sexual life course. In other words, in his view their stability is the main source of stability and predictability of sexual life courses. In this respect, Bozon differs radically from those neo-sexual revolution theorists who emphatically argue that contemporary sexual life courses are characterised by high fluidity and marked discontinuities (see Giddens, 1992a; Bauman, 1999; 2003). His thesis also finds little support in the results of empirical analyses which indicate that the relationship between sexual behaviour and attitudes is far from linear (see Laumann et al., 1994, 510). Taking the results of theoretical and empirical analyses into account, it seems highly unlikely that sexual attitudes do not change across one's entire sexual life course and that they influence sexual behaviour in a uniform way.

Even if Bozon's conclusions about the centrality of the FSI in sexual life courses are too deterministic and apodictic, his study indicates that the FSI, and especially its timing, should not be understood as just one event among many others which constitute sexual biographies. It seems that the timing of one's FSI is at least in some respects indicative of sexual behaviour patterns in later life. This holds implications for the potentially »broader« interpretation of the results of our analysis. If our data suggested that the timing of FSI, in particular early FSI, was socially underdetermined, we could speculate that this is also true to some extent for other events in one's sexual life course. Thus the results of our analysis, although limited solely to early FHI, could indirectly suggest that some other aspects of sexual lifestyles may also have the free-floating character of high modern/post-modern sexuality.

Empirical analysis: The social conditioning of early FHI² in Slovenia

The data on which our analysis is based were collected in the framework of the first national general population survey about sexual lifestyles, attitudes and health in Slovenia (see Klavs et al., 2002, Klavs et al., 2009).³ The data collection methods were adapted from the British National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles (NATSAL) conducted in 1990/1991 (Johnson et al., 1994) and were thoroughly piloted in Slovenia (Klavs, 2002). Similar to much of the recent empirical sex research, the aims and objectives primarily reflected public

2 In our analysis only data about first heterosexual intercourse (FHI) are taken into account.

3 We used a stratified two-stage probability sampling of 18-49-year-old Slovenians with over-sampling of the 18-24-year-old age group. The data were collected between November 1999 and February 2001 at respondents' homes via a combination of face-to-face interviews and anonymous self-administered pencil and paper questionnaires. Respondents were asked their age at their first heterosexual intercourse (FHI) using a showcard in the face-to-face component of the interview. Those who reported this age were asked several questions about the FHI event. Questions about the main information source about sex at the time of their FHI, age at menarche for women and demographic characteristics were asked face-to-face. Questions about sexual lifestyle and STI were self-administered. Weights were computed to adjust for over-sampling of the young, the differences in survey responses and any remaining differences between the achieved sample and available Slovenian population estimates according to statistical regions, types of communities, gender and age groups, based on Central Population Registry data for the year 2000.

health concerns about health risks related to sexual behaviour (see Gagnon, 1988) and not theoretical discussions of the revolutionary transformation of sexuality in high-modern/post-modern societies. In contrast to the theoretical discussions which have paid surprisingly little attention to the influence of the AIDS epidemic on the social organisation of sexuality, the empirical research has chiefly focused on this topic since the mid-1980s. Many aspects of sexual lifestyles, especially those related to sexual pleasure, which featured prominently in earlier surveys, have largely been neglected in the AIDS era. Nevertheless, in the Slovenian survey a lot of information about many aspects of sexual behaviour and attitudes and their social and cultural context was collected. As indicated, our analysis focused solely on data concerning the relations between some social characteristics of respondents and the timing of their FHI, in particular early FHI (before the age of 16).

The multivariate analysis of associations of respondents' age, education level, religious affiliation, the size of communities in which they lived, family structure (living with both parents up to age of 15 or not) and main information source about sex (first partner or peers, parents, school) with early FHI revealed pronounced gender differences in the social patterning of early FHI (see Klavs et al., 2006). With the men, only family structure remained statistically significantly related to early FHI (the share of those who experienced their FHI before the age of 16⁴ was higher among those who had not lived with both parents until the age of 15 than among those who had (24.5% and 13.3%, respectively) (see Appendix 1). With the women, an early FHI was statistically significantly associated with their education level (the highest odds of being an early starter was among respondents with a low level of education), community size (higher odds for an early FHI was found among those living in larger cities), main information source about sex (higher odds of being an early starter was found among those for whom the main information source about sex was either their first partner or peers). Irrespective of these factors, women in the youngest

birth cohort (1975–82) had a significantly higher odds of experiencing their FHI before the age of 16 than their counterparts in the older cohort (1950–64). In addition, an early age at menarche (before the age 13) also increased the odds of an early sexual debut. These findings do not support the thesis about the free-floating character of contemporary sexuality.

We conducted further analyses to explore the associations between the above mentioned social factors and an early FHI within three different age cohorts of men and women (born during 1950–1964, during 1965–1974 and during 1975–1982). Drawing on »neo-sexual revolution« theories it could be expected that the strength of these associations would be waning from the older to the younger age cohort. In other words, the sexuality of the younger generation should be more free-floating than that of the older ones. Giddens' claim that »men are laggards in the transition now occurring« in sexuality and intimacy (1992a, 59) also suggest that the decoupling of sexual behaviour from social constraints is more pronounced in women than in men. In such a case, one would expect that the highest level of »free-floating« would be observed in the youngest generation of women.

The results presented in Appendixes 2, 3 and 4 provide some evidence in support of these claims – but only for men. The strength of the association of an early FHI with community size, and family structure seems to have been decreasing through time and both of these factors were statistically significantly associated with an early FHI in multivariate models only for men born during 1950–1964.

Amongst women, the structure of associations is much more complex. In all their generations the lowest education level was statistically significantly associated with higher odds of an early FHI; however, the strength of this association seems to have been decreasing from the oldest to the youngest generation.⁵ In addition, in the younger generation of women (born during 1975–1982) community size and early age at menarche became strongly associated with higher odds of an early FHI in contrast to older generations.⁶

Statistical analyses were performed using STATA version 7.0. Response rates were calculated from unweighted data. Univariate and multivariate analyses of association between early FHI (before the age of 16) and selected explanatory or outcome variables were performed by a logistic regression to obtain pseudo-maximum likelihood estimates of odds ratios (OR) and adjusted OR (AOR) together with 95% confidence intervals (CI) and adjusted Wald tests of significance. Tests for trend (pt) were based on the inclusion of a linear term in the logistic regression model.

849 men and 903 women aged 18–49 years were interviewed. The overall survey response rate was 67.0% (63.3% among men, 70.9% among women). Of these, 92.3% of men and 93.9% of women reported their age at FHI, 7.1% of men and 5.8% of women reported they had not yet experienced FHI and 0.6% of men and 0.3% of women declined to answer.

4 In contrast to Bozon's study, in our analysis the respondents were divided into two categories only, those who experienced their FHI before the age of 16 (»early starters«) and those who experienced the event after the age of 16. Thus, in our study the early age at FHI was defined absolutely, i.e., irrespective of gender and age cohort, and not relatively as in the French study. The survey data on which our analysis draws clearly indicate that (also) in Slovenia the average age at FHI has decreased in the last three decades (see Klavs et al., 2002).

5 The majority of respondents in the younger generation studying for the third degree had not yet finished their studies when the survey was conducted. That is why in the younger generation only the difference between lower and middle education level is meaningful.

6 This suggests that the social and cultural meaning of the menarche and its impact on sexual behaviour have changed in a relatively short period of time.

These results indicate that social conditioning of the timing of FHI differs not only between genders, but has also been changing over time (between age cohorts). Whereas in women there was no evidence that the relevance of the social context for early FHI had been decreasing, there was some evidence of the opposite trend in men. In the older generation of men and women the social conditioning of the FHI timing was similar. In the middle and younger generation of men it was highly underdetermined, but that is not the case with the youngest women. In contrast to the claims derived from the thesis on free-floating sexuality, the highest level of »free-floatingness« – measured by the early timing of a FHI – was seen among the two younger generations of men, whereas there were no signs that the social embeddedness of women's sexual behaviour was becoming weaker in time.

Discussion: Paradoxes of free-floating sexuality

If we assume that the data about the social embeddedness of FHI timing, in particular early FHI, at least partly indicate the social conditioning of the whole sexual life course, we could broaden the interpretation of our findings into a more general hypothesis that women's sexuality is more socially constrained than men's sexuality. In other words, women's decisions regarding the timing of their FHI – and probably also the other key decisions in their sexual life courses – depend more on their social characteristics than men's decisions. Our results provide some evidence that, in this respect, gender differences in the social conditioning of early FHI are not decreasing. Thus, we could speculate that women's sexual expressions are still more socially »repressed«, whereas men's are becoming less constrained. This could suggest that the social patterning of sexuality has been – despite all changes – still quite traditional, with women's sexual behaviour still being exposed to – at least some – constraints and men's sexual behaviour characterised by freedom. But then it is hard to explain why in the last three decades in Slovenia the proportion of those who experienced their FHI before the age of 16 has changed significantly among women and only slightly among men (see Appendix 1). As a result, the gender gap with respect to early starters, which was pronounced in the older generation, has almost disappeared in the younger generation.

This indicates that the repression/freedom perspective cannot explain how it is possible that women's sexual behaviour is still socially »repressed«, but at the same time more changeable than men's.

This paradox can be at least partly explained when the social factors taken into account in our analysis are not seen as constraints, but as resources which influence

individuals' potential actions. More precisely, educational attainment, (non-)religiosity, modes of (sexual) socialisation and even the place of living can be seen as social resources which in different ways condition individuals' capacities to make and implement decisions (also) in their sexual life. In this perspective, differences in timing of the FHI among women and probably also in some other aspects of their sexual life courses can be partly explained by the quantity and quality of the social resources they possess. In contrast to women, sexual decisions in the middle and younger generation of men are not conditioned by the resources taken into account in our analysis. When seen from this perspective, our findings are more in line with the claim that a »revolution in female sexual autonomy« and men's rather slow adaptation to it (see Giddens, 1992a, 28) is one of the key characteristic of the neo-sexual revolution. Nevertheless, this does not apply to all women. Because they do not possess the same social resources which condition sexual behaviour, their sexual behaviour differs accordingly. As far as men are concerned, our data indicate that the FHI timing and probably some other aspects of their sexual behaviour are not conditioned by the same social forces as women's sexual behaviour or are even not exposed to social influences to the same extent as women.

The gender differences in social conditioning of FHI timing which have come to the fore in our analysis are in line with the results of many surveys focusing on the »gender of sex« (see Schwartz, Rutter, 2000). Summarising these results, Baumeister states that »sociocultural factors such as education, religion, political ideology, acculturation and peer influence generally have stronger effects on female sexuality than on male« (2000, 368). On this basis he argues that women are characterised by higher »erotic plasticity« than men, i.e. female sexuality is, as compared with male, socially and culturally more »flexible and responsive« (Baumeister, 2000, 347). Baumeister's elaboration of the thesis on women's erotic plasticity (also see Diamond, 2008, 17–53) indicates that the causes of this phenomenon are complex and far from easily determinable, although its social implications are obvious. Women's sexuality is, more than men's, adaptable to changes in the social and cultural context. This implies that women are not only more susceptible than men to a repressive social and cultural sexual climate, but also to a permissive one. On this basis, it can be argued that the social and cultural embeddedness of female sexuality can in sexually permissive societies be a source of its free-floatingness, i.e. a source of its individualisation. Paradoxically, just the opposite applies to men. Because of their low responsiveness to the changing social and cultural context, they are less able to benefit from the permissive sexual climate.⁷

CONCLUSION: WHAT IS FREE-FLOATING SEXUALITY?

The aim of our article has been to assess the empirical relevance of the claim that contemporary sexuality is increasingly free-floating. Defining free-floatingness as the progressive decoupling of sexuality from social and cultural constraints we focused on the association of some social factors with FHI timing in Slovenia. The expectation that this association should be weak, especially in the younger age cohort, was only partly confirmed. Our data suggest that with men the timing of FHI is largely disembedded from its social context, whereas with women there was some conflicting evidence of the decreased social conditioning of early FHI.

The theoretical relevance of these findings seems limited by its low generalisability. As stressed earlier, it is only based on an analysis of the social embeddedness of FHI timing. Although FHI and its timing hold a special place in sexual life courses, there is no doubt that many other sexual experiences are not socially and culturally patterned in the same way as FHI. In addition, our analysis included only a limited number of more or less unsystematically selected social factors. Last but not least, Slovenia is probably not the best place to study the social and cultural implications of the neo-sexual revolution. It may well be that it is (also) characterised in the field of sexuality – compared to West European states – by a »delayed« (post-) modernisation and has not yet entered the age of the neo-sexual revolution (see Bernik, Hlebec, 2005).

Despite these limitations, the results of our analysis are highly similar to findings based on sexual behaviour surveys conducted in Western Europe and the United States (see Laumann et al., 1994, Schmidt et al., 2006, Bozon, Leridon, 1996, Hubert et al., 1998, Johnson et al., 1994, Haavio-Mannila et al., 2002). They almost unanimously show that »social forces are powerful and persistent in determining sexual behavior« (Michael et al., 1995, 245). These forces are not only embodied in vague and fluid »social currents« which shape the general cultural setting in which individual decisions are made, but also in individuals' social status such as gender, class, age and marital status. Although sexual morality is becoming pluralistic, the data (see Laumann, 1994, 509–540; Wellings et al., 1994, 225–258) regarding sexual attitudes show there is a relatively broad, although probably only temporary, consensus on the social rules governing the key aspects of sexual behaviour. This implies – if we again draw on a conclusion based on US data – that »the costs of breaching the social pres-

ures may be high, and the rewards of going along may be great« (Michael et al., 1995, 246).

As already indicated, our findings are also consistent with the results of similar studies as far as gender differences in the social and cultural patterning of sexual preferences and behaviour are concerned. In both Western societies (see Baumeister, 2000) and post-socialist Slovenia the social and cultural embeddedness of female sexuality is stronger than the male one. Also in this respect our analysis offers only a minor contribution to the ample and systematic evidence which questions the validity of the claim of the free-floating character of modern sexuality. In opposition to this bold claim, the data suggest that both tendencies are at work in contemporary sexuality – certain sexualities are increasingly free-floating, whereas the others remain highly influenced by social and cultural forces. These trends also imply that contemporary sexuality is more differentiated than the theories of the neo-sexual revolution are often willing to admit.

The conclusion on the low level of validity of the free-floatingness thesis is based on assumption that sexuality is free-floating when it is decoupled from social and cultural influences. This makes it underdetermined, i.e. idiosyncratic and unpredictable. As indicated in the discussion in the previous section, an alternative definition of free-floatingness seems sociologically even more meaningful. According to this definition, free-floatingness does not consist in sexuality being free from social and cultural influences but in the individual's possession of social and cultural resources which enable her or him to act competently in the sexual field characterised by the »cacophony of options«. In this perspective, the individualistic, i.e., idiosyncratic and unpredictable, character of contemporary sexuality is primarily socially and culturally constituted.

The alternative definition of free-floatingness generates an image of contemporary sexuality which differs significantly from the one presented in previous paragraphs. The most obvious difference lies in the fact that, in this perspective, female sexuality can be designated as more free-floating than the male one. But this image is also unsupportive of the claim about the free-floating character of sexuality in the neo-sexual revolution age because it indicates that the transformation of contemporary sexuality is characterised by different trends and that the trend toward its free-floatedness is far from universal. This finding speaks in favour of the conclusion that the neo-sexual revolution has indeed »reached only a minority, the lucky daring few« and that there are more women than men among them.

7 In heterosexual relationships men have to adapt at least to some extent to their female partners. Considering that, it can be argued that heterosexual men's adaptation to the changed sexual climate is mostly indirect, i.e. through their encounters with the changing female sexuality.

Appendix 1: Association of selected factors with early first heterosexual intercourse (FHI) (before age 16) for men and women in Slovenia (univariate and multivariate analysis).**Priloga 1: Povezanost izbranih faktorjev z zgodnjim prvim heteroseksualnim odnosom (FHI) (pred 16. letom starosti) za moške in ženske v Sloveniji (univariatna in multivariatna analiza).**

		FHI ^a <age 16 %	Bases ^b		OR ^c	p value (95% CI) ^d	AOR ^{e*}	p value (95% CI)
Men	Birth cohort (approximate age ^f)							
	1950–1964 (35–49)	13.7	418		1	p=0.52	1	p=0.44
	1965–1974 (25–34)	16.2	262		1.2	(0.7 – 2.0)	1.3	(0.8 – 2.2)
	1975–1982 (18–24)	17.1	198		1.3	(0.8 – 2.0)	1.3	(0.8 – 2.2)
	Education					p=0.36		p=0.24
	<1 st stage secondary	19.4	113		1	p _t ±=0.04	1	p _t ±=0.10
	1 st or 2 nd stage secondary	15.1	638		0.7	(0.4 – 1.3)	0.7	(0.4 – 1.2)
	Tertiary	12.3	122		0.6	(0.3 – 1.2)	0.5	(0.2 – 1.2)
	Religious affiliation							
	Roman Catholic	12.6	580		1	p=0.04	1	p=0.09
	None	30.7	250		1.6	(1.0 – 2.5)	1.5	(0.9 – 2.4)
	Community size							
	<100,000	14.5	734		1	p=0.23	1	p=0.17
	>100,000	18.7	143		1.4	(0.8 – 2.2)	1.4	(0.9 – 2.3)
	Living with both parents to age 15							
	Yes	13.2	704		1	p=0.003	1	p=0.004
	No	24.5	139		2.1	(1.3 – 3.5)	2.1	(1.3 – 3.4)
Women	Main information source about sex							
	First partners / peers / other	16.7	651		1	p=0.25	1	p=0.25
	Parents	11.0	109		0.6	(0.3 – 1.4)	0.6	(0.3 – 1.3)
	School	11.4	107		0.6	(0.3 – 1.2)	0.6	(0.3 – 1.3)
	Birth cohort (approximate age ^f)					p<0.001		p<0.001
	1950–1964 (35–49)	5.2	416		1	p _t ±<0.001	1	p _t ±<0.001
	1965–1974 (25–34)	5.7	255		1.1	(0.5 – 2.3)	1.4	(0.7 – 3.0)
	1975–1982 (18–24)	14.4	190		3.1	(1.8 – 5.4)	4.7	(2.5 – 8.8)
	Education							
	<1 st stage secondary	15.5	159		1	p<0.001	1	p<0.001
	1 st or 2 nd stage secondary	5.6	524		0.3	(0.2 – 0.6)	0.2	(0.1 – 0.3)
	Tertiary	5.4	176		0.3	(0.1 – 0.8)	0.2	(0.1 – 0.5)
	Religious affiliation							
	Roman Catholic	6.7	577		1	p=0.21	1	p=0.66
	None	9.0	260		1.4	(0.8 – 2.3)	1.1	(0.6 – 2.0)
	Community size							
	<100,000	6.3	696		1	p=0.02	1	p=0.004
	>100,000	12.0	165		2.0	(1.1 – 3.7)	2.5	(1.3 – 4.8)
	Living with both parents to age 15							
	Yes	6.7	723		1	p=0.12	1	p=0.10
	No	10.8	138		1.7	(0.9 – 3.2)	1.7	(0.9 – 3.3)
	Main information source about sex							
	First partners / peers / other	9.5	515		1	p=0.008	1	p<0.001
	Parents	4.0	261		0.4	(0.2 – 0.8)	0.3	(0.1 – 0.6)
	School	4.1	77		0.4	(0.2 – 1.1)	0.3	(0.1 – 0.9)
	Age at menarche							
	13 years or older	6.2	610		1	p=0.03	1	p=0.05
	< 13 years old	10.3	237		1.7	(1.0 – 2.9)	1.7	(1.0 – 2.9)

a – first heterosexual intercourse; b – weighted count of individuals; c – odds ratio; d – confidence interval; e – AOR = adjusted OR;

* Adjusted for all variables in the table except for religion; f – approximate age at interview; ± – trend.

All individuals who refused to report their age at FHI and 4 individuals who reported FHI at a younger age than their first heterosexual experience were excluded from the analyses. Numbers of individuals (bases) vary according to the number of missing values for individual variables. 85 individuals with a religious affiliation other than Roman Catholic were excluded from the analysis of association of religious affiliation with early FHI. Only 863 men and 838 women (unweighted counts) without missing values for any of the variables in the model were included in the multivariate analyses. The results of the univariate analyses from the thus restricted data are not shown, but are very similar to those shown.

Appendix 2: Association of selected factors with early first heterosexual intercourse (FHI) (before age 16) for 18–24 year-old men and women in Slovenia (univariate and multivariate analysis).**Priloga 2: Povezanost izbranih faktorjev z zgodnjim prvim heteroseksualnim odnosom (FHI) (pred 16. letom starosti) za moške in ženske v starosti od 18 do 24 let v Sloveniji (univariatna in multivariatna analiza).**

		FHI ^a			Unadjusted		Adjusted ^d	
		<16 years old						
		%	Bases		OR ^b	p value (95% CI ^c)	OR ^b	p value (95% CI ^c)
Men								
	Education							
	<1 st stage secondary	19.6	24		1	p=0.81		
	1 st or 2 nd stage secondary	16.6	168		0.8	(0.4 – 1.9)		
	3 rd level	23.0	5		1.2	(0.2 – 7.2)		
	Religious affiliation							
	Roman Catholic	15.2	125		1	p=0.42		
	None	18.8	61		1.3	(0.7 – 2.4)		
	Community size							
	<100,000	17.2	170		1	p=0.93		
	>100,000	16.6	27		1.0	(0.4 – 2.4)		
	Living with both parents until 15							
	Yes	15.8	172		1	p=0.12		
	No	25.9	25		1.9	(0.9 – 4.0)		
	Main sex information source							
	Peers / other	19.0	146		1	p=0.10		
	Parents	4.6	25		0.2	(0.0 – 0.9)		
	School	17.3	25		0.9	(0.4 – 2.2)		
Women								
	Education							
	<1 st stage secondary	21.2	25		1	p=0.05	1	p=0.06
	1 st or 2 nd stage secondary	11.8	150		0.5	(0.2 – 1.2)	0.6	(0.3 – 1.4)
	3 rd level	29.6	15		1.6	(0.4 – 5.6)	2.2	(0.6 – 8.0)
	Religious affiliation							
	Roman Catholic	10.7	121		1	p=0.01		
	None	22.6	61		2.4	(1.3 – 4.7)		
	Community size							
	<100,000	11.2	155		1	p<0.01	1	p<0.01
	>100,000	28.4	35		3.1	(1.5 – 6.7)	3.2	(1.6 – 6.7)
	Living with both parents until 15							
	Yes	13.8	164		1	p=0.46		
	No	18.2	26		1.4	(0.6 – 3.3)		
	Main sex information source							
	Peers / other	17.1	102		1	p=0.22		
	Parents	9.4	62		0.5	(0.2 – 1.1)		
	School	13.2	24		0.7	(0.3 – 2.2)		
	Age at menarche							
	13 years or older	9.8	127		1	p<0.01	1	p<0.01
	< 13 years old	25.3	59		3.1	(1.6 – 6.2)	3.6	(1.8 – 7.4)

a – first heterosexual intercourse; b – odds ratio; c – confidence interval; d – adjusted for all other variables in the multivariate model;

e – approximate age at interview

Methods for complex survey data (svy commands) in STATA were used to obtain estimates of proportions and numbers of individuals. A logistic regression for the survey data was used to compute pseudo-maximum likelihood estimates of odds ratios with 95% CI and results of adjusted Wald tests for significance.

Appendix 3: Association of selected factors with early first heterosexual intercourse (FHI) (before age 16) for 25–34 year-old men and women in Slovenia (univariate and multivariate analysis).**Priloga 3: Povezanost izbranih faktorjev z zgodnjim prvim heteroseksualnim odnosom (FHI) (pred 16. letom starosti) za moške in ženske v starosti od 25 do 34 let v Sloveniji (univariatna in multivariatna analiza).**

		FHI ^a <16 years old			Unadjusted		Adjusted ^d	
		%	Bases		OR ^b	p value (95% CI ^c)		OR ^b p value (95% CI ^c)
Men								
	Education	13.7	28		1	p=0.94		
	<1 st stage secondary	16.3	190		1.2	(0.3 – 4.9)		
	1 st or 2 nd stage secondary	17.4	44		1.3	(0.3 – 6.6)		
	3 rd level							
	Religious affiliation							
	Roman Catholic	12.5	163		1	p=0.17		
	None	20.5	88		1.8	(0.8 – 4.2)		
	Community size							
	<100,000	15.8	214		1	p=0.70		
	>100,000	18.1	48		1.2	(0.5 – 2.8)		
	Living with both parents until 15							
	Yes	13.9	215		1	p=0.08		
	No	26.9	46		2.3	(0.9 – 5.8)		
	Main sex information source							
	Peers / other	19.3	172		1	p=0.27		
	Parents	13.5	48		0.7	(0.2 – 1.9)		
	School	6.8	41		0.3	(0.1 – 1.4)		
Women								
	Education							
	<1 st stage secondary	19.2	35		1	p=0.01	1	p<0.01
	1 st or 2 nd stage secondary	3.5	155		0.2	(0.0 – 0.6)	0.1	(0.0 – 0.5)
	3 rd level	3.7	65		0.2	(0.0 – 0.9)	0.1	(0.0 – 0.7)
	Religious affiliation							
	Roman Catholic	5.1	173		1	p=0.43		
	None	8.0	72		1.6	(0.5 – 5.4)		
	Community size							
	<100,000	5.1	201		1	p=0.49		
	>100,000	7.9	54		1.6	(0.4 – 6.1)		
	Living with both parents until 15							
	Yes	5.9	210		1	p=0.82		
	No	4.9	45		0.8	(0.2 – 4.0)		
	Main sex information source							
	Peers / other	7.9	155		1	p=0.17	1	p=0.07
	Parents	2.8	84		0.3	(0.1 – 1.6)	0.3	(0.1 – 1.1)
	School	0	16		-			
	Age at menarche							
	13 years or older	4.9	182		1	p=0.42		
	< 13 years old	7.8	73		1.7	(0.5 – 5.7)		

a – first heterosexual intercourse; b – odds ratio; c – confidence interval; d – adjusted for all other variables in the multivariate model;

e – approximate age at interview

Methods for complex survey data (svy commands) in STATA were used to obtain estimates of proportions and numbers of individuals. A logistic regression for the survey data was used to compute pseudo-maximum likelihood estimates of odds ratios with 95% CI and results of adjusted Wald tests for significance.

Appendix 4: Association of selected factors with early first heterosexual intercourse (FHI) (before age 16) for 35–49 year-old men and women in Slovenia (univariate and multivariate analysis).**Priloga 4: Povezanost izbranih faktorjev z zgodnjim prvim heteroseksualnim odnosom (FHI) (pred 16. letom starosti) za moške in ženske v starosti od 35 do 49 let v Sloveniji (univariatna in multivariatna analiza).**

		FHI ^a <16 years old			Unadjusted		Adjusted ^d	
		%	Bases		OR ^b	p value (95% CI ^c)		OR ^b p value (95% CI ^c)
Men								
	Education							
	<1 st stage secondary	22.0	61		1	p=0.15	1	p=0.07
	1 st or 2 nd stage secondary	13.4	280		0.5	(0.3 – 1.2)	0.5	(0.2 – 1.1)
	3 rd level	8.5	73		0.3	(0.1 – 1.1)	0.2	(0.1 – 0.9)
	Religious affiliation							
	Roman Catholic	11.5	292		1	p=0.27		
	None	16.8	102		1.6	(0.7 – 3.4)		
	Community size							
	<100,000	12.5	350		1	p=0.17	1	p=0.02
	>100,000	20.0	67		1.8	(0.8 – 3.9)	2.6	(1.2 – 6.0)
	Living with both parents until 15							
	Yes	11.5	335		1	p=0.02	1	p=0.01
	No	22.7	82		2.7	(1.1 – 4.5)	2.4	(1.2 – 4.8)
	Main sex information source							
	Peers / other	14.4	333		1	p=0.91		
	Parents	12.1	36		0.8	(0.2 – 2.9)		
	School	12.3	41		0.8	(0.3 – 2.5)		
Women								
	Education							
	<1 st stage secondary	12.7	98		1	p=0.01	1	p<0.01
	1 st or 2 nd stage secondary	2.9	218		0.2	(0.1 – 0.6)	0.1	(0.0 – 0.5)
	3 rd level	2.8	96		0.2	(0.0 – 0.9)	0.1	(0.0 – 0.5)
	Religious affiliation							
	Roman Catholic	5.9	263		1	p=0.30		
	None	3.1	126		0.5	(0.1 – 1.9)		
	Community size							
	<100,000	4.7	340		1	p=0.44	1	p=0.12
	>100,000	7.1	76		1.5	(0.5 – 4.7)	2.5	(0.8 – 8.0)
	Living with both parents until 15							
	Yes	3.9	349		1	p=0.02		
	No	11.8	66		3.3	(1.2 – 9.2)		
	Main sex information source							
	Peers / other	7.4	257		1	p=0.09	1	p=0.08
	Parents	2.1	116		0.3	(0.1 – 1.2)	0.2	(0.0 – 1.2)
	School	0	38		-		-	-
	Age at menarche							
	13 years or older	5.4	301		1	p=0.52		
	< 13 years old	3.6	106		0.7	(0.2 – 2.4)		

a – first heterosexual intercourse; b – odds ratio; c – confidence interval; d – adjusted for all other variables in the multivariate model;

e – approximate age at interview

Methods for complex survey data (svy commands) in STATA were used to obtain estimates of proportions and numbers of individuals. A logistic regression for the survey data was used to compute pseudo-maximum likelihood estimates of odds ratios with 95% CI and results of adjusted Wald tests for significance.

PROSTOLEBDEČA SPOLNOST IN NJENE MEJE. DRUŽBENA POGOJENOST ZGODNJEGA PRVEGA HETEROSEKSUALNEGA SPOLNEGA ODNOSA V SLOVENIJI

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POVZETEK

Članek analizira empirično relevantnost teze, da je sodobna spolnost vse bolj prostolebdeča. Ta teza ima pomembno mesto v diskusijah o spreminjanju spolnosti v sodobnih zahodnih družbah. Na enostaven način je prostolebdečnost spolnosti mogoče definirati kot njeno postopno izmikanje družbenim in kulturnim vplivom. S tem spolno vedenje postaja nepredvidljivo in idiosinkratično. Ob predpostavki, da je starost ob prvem spolnem odnosu (PSO) povezana z nekaterimi drugimi značilnostmi kasnejšega spolnega življenja, je veljavnost teze o prostolebdeči spolnosti v članku preverjena na odnosu med družbenimi dejavniki in zgodnjim PSO. Podatki, na katere se opira raziskava, so bili zbrani z raziskavo spolnih življenjskih slogov v Sloveniji med letoma 1999 in 2001. Ti podatki le deloma potrjujejo teoretsko pričakovanje o šibki povezanosti družbenih dejavnikov in starosti ob PSO. Medtem ko je vstop v aktivno partnersko življenje pri moških dokaj neodvisen od analiziranih družbenih dejavnikov, pa to ne velja za ženske. Pri njih tudi ni opaziti znakov zmanjševanja družbene pogojenosti tega dogodka. Ob upoštevanju teh ugotovitev je mogoče trditi, da je veljavnost teze o prostolebdeči spolnosti vprašljiva.

Pri analizi teoretske relevantnosti empiričnih ugotovitev se članek osredotoča na vprašanje o utemeljenosti izhodiščne definicije prostolebdeče spolnosti. Če prostolebdečnost spolnosti razumemo kot njeno osvobajanje izpod družbenih in kulturnih omejitev, empirični podatki sugerirajo sklep, da je ženska spolnost kljub vsem spremembam, ki jih je doživela v zadnjih desetletjih, še vedno družbeno »kontrolirana«, medtem ko se moška izmika tem omejitvam. Presenetljivo dejstvo, da je ženska spolnost izpostavljena družbenim omejitvam in hkrati spremenljiva, kaže, da v družbah s permissivno spolno kulturo temelji prostolebdeča spolnost niso v njeni ločenosti od družbenih in kulturnih vplivov, ampak v izpostavljenosti tistim vplivom, ki posameznikom in posameznicam omogočajo avtonomno in kompetentno sprejemanje spolnih odločitev. Z vidika te alternativne opredelitve prostolebdeče spolnosti je mogoče pojasniti različno dinamiko spreminjanja ženske in moške spolnosti v sodobnih družbah.

Ključne besede: spolnost, sociologija spolnosti, spolna revolucija, moderne družbe, spolna kultura, prvi heteroseksualni spolni odnos

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PERCEPTIONS OF SEXUAL RECIPROCITY IN FEMALE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

The article presents the results of a qualitative research study of female university students' perceptions of sexuality, focusing on perception of sexual reciprocity in intimate relationships. As reciprocity is understood as basic element and at the same time condition of late-modern intimate relationships, our attention was paid on whether sexual reciprocity is defined by female students as basic condition of intimate relationship and how is sexual reciprocity in itself constructed. The concept of reciprocity is here taken as an indicator of reflexivity of sexual and intimate relationships. Sexual reciprocity as perceived by female students in the study revealed three main characteristics regarding perceptions of reciprocity: first, reciprocity is understood as basic element and condition of (reflexive) intimate relationship and sexuality; second, reciprocity is also framed within broader understanding of sexuality (especially differences between female and male sexuality); third, a certain economy of reciprocity is created, which makes the meanings of reciprocity and intimate and sexual relationship an complex issue.

Key words: sexuality, female university students, sexual reciprocity, permissive and traditional sexual cultures

LA PERCEZIONE DELLA RECIPROCIÀ SESSUALE NELLE STUDENTESSE UNIVERSITARIE IN SLOVENIA

SINTESI

L'articolo presenta i risultati di una ricerca qualitativa sulla percezione della sessualità nelle studentesse universitarie, con particolare riguardo alla percezione della reciprocità sessuale nel rapporto di coppia. Poiché la reciprocità è intesa come un elemento e una condizione fondamentale dei rapporti di coppia tardo-moderni si è cercato di capire se, tra le studentesse, la reciprocità sia effettivamente definita in tali termini e in che modo esse pervengano alla sua costruzione. Il concetto di reciprocità è preso come un indicatore della riflessività dei rapporti sessuali e intimi. La reciprocità sessuale, per come essa è percepita dalle studentesse partecipanti alla ricerca, si manifesta in tre caratteristiche della percezione di reciprocità: in primo luogo, la reciprocità è intesa come elemento e condizione fondamentale sia di un rapporto di coppia (riflessivo) sia della sessualità; in secondo luogo, la reciprocità va inquadrata nel più ampio contesto della sessualità (in particolare nella percezione delle differenze esistenti tra la sessualità maschile e quella femminile); in terzo luogo, sembra crearsi una sorta di economia della reciprocità, che introduce una ulteriore dimensione di complessità nei concetti e significati attribuiti alle relazioni intime e sessuali.

Parole chiave: sessualità, studentesse, reciprocità sessuale, cultura sessuale permissiva e tradizionale

INTRODUCTION

According to main commentators of late-modern changes in intimate relationships (Bauman, 1998; 2003; Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Giddens, 2000; Schmidt, 1995; 1998; Weeks, 1995), late-modernity is characterised among others by a radical transformation of intimacy and sexuality. These changes are closely related to wider social changes, especially the phenomenon of reflexive individualism (Giddens, 1991; Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) and changes in sexual cultures and morals. According to Giddens, changes in the sphere of intimacy do not only mean a transformation of intimacy as such but also a new way of creating intimacy (Giddens, 1998). This means above all that intimacy and sexuality have become ever more defined from 'within', by the individuals themselves. Intimate relationships no longer depend on external conditions of social or economic worlds but are said to be free-floating (Bauman, 2003; Giddens, 2000; Schmidt, 1998).

Pure intimate and sexual relationships being interpersonally determined and conditioned by respect for others necessarily rest upon some other basic conditions in order to last. Intimate relationships of this late-modern form are believed to be built on »egalitarian and reciprocal sexual standards« (Vance in Braun et al., 2003, 239) or in other words, they are »defined by the presence of certain formal conditions in the interpersonal context, for example, consent, reciprocity and respect« (Seidman in Braun et al., 2003, 239). In this sense they become reflexive relationships (Giddens, 2000).

Starting from the theories of transformation of intimacy (Giddens, 2000) and reflexive individualism (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Giddens, 2000), this article presents the results of a qualitative research study of female university students' perceptions of sexuality¹ with special emphasis on perception of sexual reciprocity in intimate relationships. Students are in particular sociologically interesting social group to study in relation to the changes in sexuality and intimacy as they are understood as an avant-garde in this field (Schmidt et al., 1998) and women in general are sought to be bearers of changes in intimacy of late-modernity (Giddens, 2000).

As reciprocity is understood as basic element and at the same time condition of late-modern intimate relationships, our attention was paid on whether sexual

reciprocity is defined by female students as basic condition of intimate relationship and how is sexual reciprocity in itself constructed. The concept of reciprocity is here taken as an indicator of reflexivity of sexual and intimate relationships. The analysis followed the main idea that female students' perceptions of sexuality are grounded in the following key social contexts, namely, reflexive individualism, changes in intimacy and partnership, and the permissive sexual culture; and that characteristics of these social contexts will be present in female students' perceptions of sexuality in general and reciprocity in particular. However, we expected that certain residuals of traditional sexual culture will be present as well, especially those related to gender differences and inequalities regarding sexuality. According to some authors, gender differences are articulated in the form of the so-called »pseudo-reciprocal gift discourse« (Gilfoyle et al. in Braun et al., 2003, 240). This study is therefore interested in the ways female students construct their perceptions of reciprocity and how these are based in different social contexts and discourses that have implications for (quality of) their sexual and intimate lives.

SEXUALITY AND INTIMACY OF LATE-MODERNITY:
THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL STARTING
POINTS

From the 1960's onward we faced a shift from traditional restrictive sexual culture, which established clear and also differentiated limits for sexual behaviour² to permissive sexual culture emerging as a key context of the late-modern organisation of sexuality. In the private or intimate sphere, changes in sexual culture are reflected in the phenomena of a pure relationship and plastic sexuality (Giddens, 2000; Beck-Gernsheim, 1995), while in the public sphere they are reflected in (cultural) sexualisation and the phenomenon of the so-called striptease culture (McNair, 2002).

Permissive or liberal sexual culture is characterised by »permissive discourse« (Hollway in Gavey et al., 1999) governed by the idea of the possibility of free sexual expression, sexual equality, by liberal and tolerant views on sexuality and sexual diversity, by sexual pluralism (diverse sexual practices, behaviours, patterns). Sexuality is organised around pleasure and no longer in reproduction (Gavey et al., 1999). Also characteristic of

1 The author of the research is Alenka Švab (Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana). As part of their study requirements, the students Nina Sirk (Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana; assisting in the conduct of focus groups and transcription of interviews) and Evgen Štefančič (Faculty of Human Sciences-University of Primorska; transcription of interviews) have collaborated in running the research. Under the author's mentorship, the students presented the preliminary results at the International Student Symposium in May 2008 held in Grožnjan, Croatia.

2 Sexuality is located within the frameworks of a marriage and closely connected with reproduction, there is a sharp distinction between socially acceptable and unacceptable sexuality and the implied sanctions and stigmatisation of sexual behaviours and practices, which deviate from socially normative or permitted sexual behaviour, such as pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships, homosexual relationships etc.

permissive sexual culture is the sexualisation of the public sphere, sexual commercialisation and expanded accessibility of sexual knowledge and information (even an information abundance), especially with the development of new technologies such as the Internet and so on.

However, a permissive sexual culture is certainly not the only one in existence. Following Williams' division of the existing culture into dominant, residual and emerging (Williams, 1985), the sexual culture or cultures of late modernity can also be divided into: the permissive sexual culture as dominant; the traditional (restrictive) sexual culture as residual; and the subversive sexual (sub)culture (e.g. queer, trans-hetero sexual culture) as the emerging sexual culture.

This distinction between individual sexual cultures allows us to understand their co-existence and mutual relationships and consequently explain perceptions of sexuality among the participants in our study. Namely, each sexual culture has its own typical discourses and imperatives that are also present in these views on sexuality. Typical characteristics of the traditional sexual culture are biological imperative (Gavey et al., 1999), the male sexual drive discourse (Weeks, 1986), and the coital imperative which give direction to the traditional, differential view of female and male sexualities, or support the »masculinist model of sexuality as generic sexuality« (Jackson, 1984). On the other hand, the permissive sexual culture is characterised by the permissive discourse, reciprocity discourse and the orgasmic imperative.

Within traditional sexual culture, the male sexual drive discourse (Hollway in Gavey et al., 1999), based on the idea of biological and reproductive conditioning of sexuality or the biological imperative (Gavey et al., 1999), follows the idea that male sexuality is dominated by a strong biological need for sexuality in the coital form (Weeks, 1986). Male sexuality is presented as the opposite of female sexuality and represents the general model of how we understand sexuality (Jackson, 1984). Female sexuality is considered to be passive, subjected to male sexuality and closely connected with reproduction (Gavey et al., 1999; Weeks, 1986). Traditional sexual culture is also supported by the so-called coital imperative, within which coitus is considered to be the most natural expression of heterosexual activity, with its key element and goal leading to sexuality being equated with coitus. Thus, the idea is maintained that men have a strong sexual instinct that aspires to experience coitus (Jackson, 1984).

Reciprocity discourse and orgasmic imperative are typical products of permissive sexual culture. Reciprocity discourse means promotion of reciprocity in intimate relationships (i.e. reciprocity as basic element of late-modern pure relationships (Giddens, 2000), however, the research revealed that reciprocity does not necessar-

ily rest on egalitarian relations between partners (Braun et al., 2003). In combination with elements of traditional sexual culture (differential understanding of male and female sexuality as essentially different), it creates the so-called pseudo-reciprocity where exchange of sexual pleasure (e.g. orgasms) gets realised through established rights (e.g. woman's right to orgasm) and obligations (male responsibility for female pleasure) (Braun et al., 2003). Discourse of pseudo-reciprocity is closely related to the construction of orgasm in the so-called orgasmic imperative, within which orgasm is understood as the final goal of heterosexual activity for men as well as for women. Orgasm is therefore pictured as final point of »natural« sexual intercourse (Potts, 2000).

In this context, our starting idea is that young people's sexuality, the ways how they perceive and practice sexuality and intimacy, is inevitably related to the described social context. Sexuality plays an important role in personal biographies of young people and is also a key part of reflexive project of the self. In other words, sexuality is means of self-realisation (Haavio-Manila et al. in Bernik, 2010). Reflexive project of the self in the field of sexuality and intimacy presupposes sexual autonomy, (gender) equality, reciprocity (emphasis on intimacy, agency and mutual achievement of pleasure), commitment, constant reflexion and high demands regarding sexual and intimate relationship.

Sexual reflexivity is seen in how young people view themselves as autonomous sexual subjects with their own highly reflected views, aspirations and interests regarding sexuality, and in how they openly express them in sexual and intimate communication. One of the presumptions of this study was that reciprocity will play an important part in this context and is a condition for satisfying sexual and intimate relationship. Reflexivity has therefore become a measure of successful and satisfying sexuality; however this is probably more evident at the level of opinions and viewpoint rather than practices of everyday life.

One the other hand, our study was led by the idea that traditional sexual cultures at least in some aspects still influence young people's ideas and perceptions regarding sexuality in intimacy. While the majority of young people probably hold liberal views on sexuality in general, we presuppose that to some extent differential view on sexuality will be present and will guide the perceptions of sexuality among participants in our study. In other words, although equality and reciprocity are important components of late-modern intimate relationships that most young people strive for, these are nevertheless embedded in structural gender inequalities. Duncombe and Marsden (Cacchioni, 2007, 301) in this sense refer to connection between the micro-politics of sexual relationships and the institutionalised gender inequalities of power. Their concept of »sex work«, which refers to »the rationalisation, improvement and mastery

of sexual pleasure in personal sexual relationships« and an »unacknowledged effort and the continuing monitoring which women are expected to devote theirs and their partners' sexual desires and activities« (Cacchioni, 2007, 301), is therefore relevant also for our study, especially in understanding the relations between perceptions and practices of reciprocity within sexual and intimate relationships.

METHODOLOGY

The research was carried out with focus groups on the sample of female students. The research was primarily of explanatory nature and focus group therefore represented basic source of information (cf. Morgan, 1997; Frith, 2000), since sexual behaviour in Slovenia has been under-researched and at the same time we do not have any data on sexual behaviour of students. The main reason for choosing focus groups as a qualitative technique was the fact that the aim of the research was not to explore sexual behaviour, practices and experiences of individuals (for this purpose individual interview would be more appropriate), but to explore viewpoints and perceptions regarding sexuality, where the interaction between participants of focus group is an important source of information in itself (e.g. different views on sexuality and their confrontation).

Focus groups are research technique for collecting data through group interaction on a certain topic chosen by a researcher (Morgan, 1997). As in social sciences in general (Litosseliti, 2003), the use of the focus groups in the field of sex research is becoming more often, especially in the case of exploratory research (Frith, 2000; Graham et al., 2004). Discussion in the focus group depends on individuals who form the group as well as on the dynamic of the group as whole (Morgan, 1997, 60) and enables a broad collection of data on the discussed topic (Krueger, Casey, 2000; Litosseliti, 2003). In the discussion on advantages of focus groups Morgan (1997, 20) stresses that focus groups reveal aspects of experiences and views that would not be revealed without group interaction. The most important result that could be observed through interaction is the way how participants react on each other: do they agree or disagree, pose questions and answer the questions etc. Group discussion and interactional nature of focus groups are especially appropriate for research in the field of sexuality (Frith, 2000), and focus groups are especially appropriate for researching viewpoints and opinions of participants (Morgan, 1997).

Procedure

Choosing the size of individual focus group and the number of focus groups was done according to the existent references (see e.g. Greenbaum, 1993; Krueger, Casey, 2000; Litosseliti, 2003; Morgan, 1997). According to Morgan (1997) the main factor in choosing the size of the group is the extent of individual's contribution in the discussion and also the question how detailed data we want to collect from individual participant. In the current research small focus groups were chosen (4–6 participants)³ (Greenbaum, 1998, 3) due to the extensiveness of the topic (high number of questions) and due to the intimate nature the researched topic. The idea behind this was that smaller groups were more likely to create an atmosphere of trust in which participants will feel comfortable and more willing to talk than in larger focus groups. In addition, the small number of participants (especially in the light of the extent of the topic) enables every participant to talk and develop their own ideas and opinions.

At the same time the focus groups were big enough to enable heterogeneity of opinions which is the key factor in determining the size of the group (Litosseliti, 2003; Krueger, Casey, 2000). The research managed to create a good ratio between the size of the group and the number of questions on the list, which can be seen also in the duration of particular focus group. The average duration of focus group was one hour and a half, which is a time that still enables continual concentration of the participants and the detailed discussion of all aspects of the defined topic.

As a general rule the number of focus groups in social sciences is 3 to 5, based on the argument that after five focus groups new information is rarely gathered (Morgan, 1997, 43), which some see as an ability to stop collecting data when we can correctly predict the answers of the participants (Zeller in Morgan, 1997, 43). This is also known as reaching the point of saturation after which we can no longer get new information and the answers start to repeat. The number of focus groups necessary for reaching the point of saturation depends on several factors, in the first place the heterogeneity of the participants within the focus group and between them (Morgan, 1997, 44). In the current research some information started to repeat already after the fifth focus group, however the decision was made to carry out eight focus groups as the size of the focus groups was small.

The sampling was done through the snow-ball and link-tracing methods. The participants were recruited through social networks, by sending e-mails, and all participants were asked for further possible contacts.

3 Average number of participants per focus group was 4 (five focus groups consisted of four participants, two groups of five and one focus group of three participants).

The focus groups were held in January and February 2008. Before each focus group started, the students were asked to fill in a short questionnaire containing basic socio-demographic questions. This was followed by a short presentation of the aim and course of the focus groups. Further, the participants were acquainted with their role in the focus group. The focus groups were then conducted according to the usual procedure with a moderator and a facilitator (Krueger, 1994; Morgan, 1997).⁴ The 68 questions for focus groups were divided into seven sub-topics (the male sexual drive discourse, intimacy and sex, the coital imperative, sexual reciprocity, the orgasmic imperative, faking orgasm, sexual autonomy or decision-making).

Sample characteristics

Eight focus groups were carried out with 33 female students of social science and humanities from several faculties of the University of Ljubljana and the University of Primorska, both in Slovenia. The participants formed a largely homogenous group regarding their age and study course. Their average age was 22.8 years and they were all social science students.⁵ While the sample was broad regarding the place of residence (the participants came from across Slovenia), the majority came from urban areas (15 from towns, 5 from suburban settlements, 5 from small places and 8 from rural areas). The sample included 12 single participants and 21 participants involved in a partner relationship. Regarding sexual orientation, 29 participants declared themselves heterosexual, two bisexual and two homosexual.⁶

RESULTS

Sexual reciprocity as perceived by female students in the study revealed several characteristics which function in a complex relationship in the context of late-modern perceptions and practices of intimate relationships and sexuality. Three main characteristics regarding perceptions of reciprocity can be distinguished. First, reciprocity is understood as basic element and condition of (reflexive) intimate relationship and sexuality. Second, although reciprocity is defined as equal giving and receiving, it is also framed within broader understanding of sexuality (especially differences between female and male sexuality). Third, in the light of the second characteristic (understanding sexuality as different for men and

for women), a certain economy of reciprocity is created, which makes the meanings of reciprocity and intimate and sexual relationship more complex. The following section presents and discusses these results in more detail.

Positioning reciprocity within stable relationship

Participants relate reciprocity with intimate relationship, which was revealed through a discussion about advantages and disadvantages of sex in stable relationship at the one hand and one-night stand on the other. For participants one-night-stand is primarily intended for satisfaction of their own sexual needs, being more oriented toward personal interests and therefore more 'selfish' and non-reciprocal.

»I have a positive attitude toward this; basically I regard it as ... it is about satisfaction...« (Manja, 24)

»... A one-night stand is to satisfy desire« (Polona, 20)

However, since sex/sexuality is in general put in the context of a stable partnership, the one-night stand represents its opposite. In this sense, it is a practice with no prospects:

»It cannot continue permanently, sooner or later everyone gets fed up because we are all emotional beings and because, regardless of what your feelings are, positive or negative, you sooner or later get to need them.« (Manja, 24)

For the majority of participants reciprocity is therefore located within the relational context of stable partnership, closely related with feeling, emotions, connectedness, disclosure, therefore the elements of reflexive intimate relationship. Sex in a stable partnership and a one-night stand are not comparable and reveal qualitative differences. Sex in a partnership is more fulfilling; it brings more pleasure, more to the relationship and better sex:

»Because the fulfilment is bigger with sex with someone you are intimate with. Much greater than with someone you do not know well or not at all.« (Marta, 24)

4 Moderator was the author of the research (A. Švab).

5 The fact that the participants of the focus groups were social science students might represent a weak point on one hand as a more diverse sample would undoubtedly show more diverse perceptions and perhaps also less reflexive and critical attitudes toward sexuality. On the other hand, the homogeneity of the sample offers an advantage as it enables an analysis of perceptions in a population of students for whom it can be presumed that given the nature of their studies they have more critical views of the social construction of sexuality, and that their perceptions of sexuality and partnerships are more reflected.

6 The participants who declared themselves homosexual had had a past heterosexual experience.

»Today, you can get sex anywhere. With romance it is different. It means at least that your partner means something to you. It is something more.« (Eva, 21)

»Well, it [note: one-night stand] is about curiosity and exploration ..., while with an existing partner ... he can serve you and the sex can last longer, it is another thing.« (Nuša, 22)

There is also some small degree of the idealisation of sex in a partner relationship:

»... Sex in a serious relationship is different and more beautiful because emotion is involved ... because it is your soul mate, well, in that moment in that relationship you are united...« (Sara, 23)

Reciprocity as the key element of egalitarian partnership is typically represented as an important characteristic within the hetero-sex and hetero-relationship. As for intimate relationships in general the reciprocity in sex is understood as the necessary part of sexual relationship; it is a condition for reflexive sexual relationship.

Reciprocity is also itself defined sometimes in reflexive way, e.g. it is about equality, respect, trust, effort, attention:

»... That you at least roughly know the desires of your partner, and also his limits; i.e. how far is somebody willing to go. And that you don't force him or even ignore ... and also that you do your best, as much as you can; for him and for yourself.« (Marta, 24)

Participants also described it as something that comes with knowing your intimate partner, as something which requires knowing one's partner and his preferences well. This indicates that reflexive partnership and sexuality become a social ideal that majority strives for and social imperative one has to follow.

However, at declarative level when participants were asked to define sexual reciprocity, they described it as equal giving and receiving, as 'quid pro quo' reciprocity, in terms of quantitative measure 50:50. They emphasized that they expect their sexual needs and desires also to be met.

»This means that you give and also receive. And that you know whom you give.« (Kaja, 21)

»... That both give and also both receive and that both also tolerate each other.« (Laura, 20)

This indicates a certain level of agency and autonomy that stems from new sexual morals, called interaction morals or morals of negotiation (Schmidt, 1995, 7), based on egalitarian and reciprocal sexual standards

(Vance in Braun et al., 2003, 239), that replaced a traditional sexual morals that was hierarchical and non-reciprocal and grounded in differential view on sexuality (see below). However, as it will be shown further, this does not mean reciprocity in terms of equality.

Reciprocity in the context of differential view on sexuality

Although participants explicitly define sexual reciprocity in terms of 'quid pro quo' or equal exchange of pleasures (especially orgasms) discussion about other aspects of sex/uality revealed more complex and sometimes contradictory picture of the perception of sexual reciprocity. This complexity mainly stems from gender differential view on sexuality (see Švab, 2010). It constructs female and male sexuality as essentially (biologically and consequently socially) different. Male sexuality is understood as conditioned by a strong sexual drive and oriented toward orgasm through coitus, and female sexuality seen as contrast to and subordinated to male sexuality, being passive and closely connected to reproduction (cf. Gavey et al., 1999; Weeks, 1986).

Within this context women see their own sexuality as different from their partners', especially in terms of sexual desire (drive). While on the one hand they express a demand for equal reciprocity and meeting their own sexual need and interests, the very perception of what constitutes female and male sexual pleasure is differential. In this sense reciprocity becomes differential; it becomes pseudo-reciprocity (Braun et al., 2003) or differential reciprocity.

One example of this constellation is positioning partner's pleasure before one's own. Majority of participants for example see partner's sexual pleasure at least as important as their own, if not even more. In this sense, female sexual pleasure is at least partly defined through giving pleasure to partner. This is therefore a 'relational' pleasure. This is somehow contradictory since male sexual desire, and especially orgasm, is understood as something certain, unquestioned and always present (in comparison to female sexual desire and orgasm) (see Švab, 2010).

»I think that giving pleasure to a partner is already half of your pleasure.« (Marta, 24)

»Sometimes I'm even more attentive to a partner than to myself, because partner equals sex with orgasm, while I don't need to achieve it to have a good sex. So, I'm sometimes more into that he is going to achieve an orgasm and this will be a good sex for him. ... [B]ecause I enjoy sex anyway and I don't need an orgasm for that, while my partner needs that ... I focus on that that it's more important to me that I satisfy him than that I'm satisfied.« (Nuša, 22)

These statements express female relational role; beside care for their own sexual pleasure, women also have a role of taking care for partner's pleasure and satisfaction.

Economy of reciprocity: investment, exchange, obligations

Differential understanding of reciprocity creates specific relations between partners in terms of exchange of pleasure and obligations that come with it. In this way, a specific economy of reciprocity is created. One example of differential perception of sexual reciprocity and economy that comes with it is that reciprocity is understood as a *process* and not only as an act of particular sexual encounter. It is a process and a sort of investment.

»... That you don't just give in pointless way, but that you will someday ... perhaps not just today, receive it back.« (Kaja, 21)

»Well, sometimes only one of the partners is satisfied, but this is totally ok, because you know that there will be another sex, and both will make an effort, so that it will be somehow balanced.« (Laura, 20)

This process also includes specific *relations of rights and obligations* between partners which are further framed within the construction of the «usual» sexual encounter. In discussing which activities constitute the usual sex participants described what is known as «common-sense version of how hetero-sex happens» (Braun et al., 2003, 242), where coitus and male orgasm have the central role of sexual encounter. Although participants stated various sexual activities and practices (most often coitus in different positions, oral sex, manual stimulation, and sometimes anal sex), the course of sexual encounter was in practically all cases the same: various activities intended for a woman to achieve an orgasm(s) (most often manual stimulation, cunnilingus) followed by coitus and male orgasm that marked the end of sex.⁷

The construction of hetero-sex through coitus is promoted by the so-called coital imperative within which coitus is considered to be the most natural expression of heterosexual activity, with its key element and goal leading to sexuality being equated with coitus. Thus, the idea is maintained that men have a strong sexual instinct that aspires to experience coitus (Jackson 1984). In this construction of hetero-sex male orgasm represents an ultimate goal and end of hetero-sex. At the

same time, as female orgasm is promoted by the permissive sexual culture, female orgasm is not only a woman's *right* but also a man's *obligation*. The result of this constellation is seen in the usual course of hetero-sex.

In this context, female orgasm is perceived as something which depends on male functioning and competence.⁸ Men are seen as those who have the role (and duty) to «guide» the woman or «prepare» her for orgasm.

»That a man guides you to orgasm; this in itself has its charm.« (Nuša, 23)

»... Whether the man is able to prepare the woman to achieve orgasm ...« (Nena, 23)

»That somebody is taking you to ecstasy ...« (Manja, 24)

Furthermore, economy of sexual reciprocity is also framed within the so-called «orgasmic imperative» (Potts, 2000). First of all, sexual reciprocity is often articulated through orgasm and especially an exchange of orgasms (cf. Braun et al., 2003). The following statements are answers to the question what participants understand as sexual reciprocity:

»That both achieve an orgasm.« (Eva, 21)

»If we really talk about good sex, then, I think, it is that both have to achieve an orgasm.« (Tina, 21)

This implies that not only is sexual reciprocity defined through achievement of orgasms (for both), but that it is a standard by which good sex is evaluated. These examples show presence of orgasmic imperative (Potts, 2000), in which orgasm is understood as the goal of hetero-sexual activity for both, men and women. Orgasm is constructed as ultimate goal and final point of «natural» sexual encounter and it has a status of the ultimate pleasure. Orgasmic imperative dictates that all individuals are able to achieve orgasm and that orgasm is necessary for sexual health (Potts, 2000).

However, in describing reciprocity through exchanges of orgasms situatedness of reciprocity in differential understanding of sexuality is evident in two ways. The first was already mentioned, i.e. the construction of sexual activities within the «usual» sexual encounter in which the course of sexual encounter is defined by position of female and male orgasms, where female orgasm before male and male orgasm as symbolic denotation

7 Similar results were gathered in study in New Zealand (Braun et al., 2003).

8 For social construction of orgasm in female students see Švab (2010).

the end of sexual encounter. In this relation reciprocity as exchange of pleasure (i.e. orgasms) is defined through establishing rights (woman's right to orgasm) and obligations (man's responsibility for female orgasm) (Braun et al., 2003). Sequence of orgasms (female orgasm before male) creates pseudo-reciprocal relations: it is a man's duty to lead his female partner to orgasm and then he is entitled to his own.

Another example of differential reciprocity is evident through the idea, that female orgasm is not a condition of either sexual reciprocity or female sexual satisfaction, which is clearly in contradiction with orgasmic imperative. For majority of participants the achievement of orgasm in every sexual encounter is not a condition for sexual reciprocity but is »compensated« through other aspects of sexual encounter (tenderness, physical closeness, coitus as an intimacy, feeling of unity etc.)

»This is not to say that it is not very nice if you reach it, but I also take great pleasure in sex itself and I do not need to have an orgasm to have good sex ... For me it is normal that I do not always experience orgasm during sex.« (Nuša, 22)

»To me the very harmony is more important than orgasm itself. And the feeling of unity, not just the sexual one, but also the mental, emotional ...« (Nina, 21)

In the context of established common-sense pattern of the course of sexual encounter, this can create certain pressures both, on men and also, vice versa, on women. The »absence« of female orgasm namely puts into question male sexual competency and in return these pressures are put on women who express not only care for male sexual satisfaction but also concern regarding the idea that they do not need orgasm for successful heterosex.

»Yes, perhaps it is that women are afraid to say no to sex, in the sense of declining sex for any reason. I think that most of us do feel guilty about it.« (Marta, 24)

»Because I know guys who think it was not good sex if I did not come, and this is what I have in my head, that only through this can I prove to him, though it is not the point at all ... So that at the back of my mind there is constant pressure to not make him think that I did not enjoy it.« (Nuša, 22)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Results of a qualitative study revealed a complex set of relations as far as egalitarian and reciprocal aspects of intimate relationships are concerned. It could be said

that at the one hand demands for equal and reciprocal relationships show a shift toward reflexive pure relationships as presupposed by theory of transformation of intimacy (Giddens, 2000), while on the other hand there are some aspects of more traditional understanding of sexuality present that put a different light on late-modern characteristics of intimate relationships.

In this sense, there is no unified perception of reciprocity; instead, we could talk about multi-layered, the so-called differential perception of reciprocity. Egalitariness and reciprocity are *conditio sine qua non* of sexual and intimate relationships, which is an indicator of a trend toward the so-called pure relationships. However, since reciprocity is also embedded in gender differential perception of sexuality as such, i.e. male and female sexuality being essentially different, reciprocity is *a priori* »condemned« to be »non-reciprocal«.

This construction of reciprocity and understanding of sexual and intimate relationships are result of influences of several discourses that cohabit together although being embedded in different sexual cultures. At one hand there is a permissive sexual culture, which promises equality, reciprocity and above all freedom in sexual expression and decision-making (limited only by respect for others), but on the other, some elements of traditional sexual culture, especially the gender differential perception of sexuality, are still present. Although it seems that permissive sexual culture and culture of reflexive individualism imply individual freedom in forming and practicing sexual relationships, they both actually create several obstacles. Some of them were also revealed by this study. It could be argued that as an effect of changes in the sexual cultures (from traditional, restrictive sexual culture to permissive sexual culture), there are also changes in understanding of sexual reciprocity: reciprocity became a norm of (successful) sexual relationship – but there is also change in obligations in this respect: reciprocity produces obligations for both genders. This puts pressures not only on women but on men as well. This was also confirmed by a study done by Štefančič (2010) with male students.

The research revealed rather contradictory characteristics which are however only two sides of the same story; the story of late-modern social and cultural organization of sexuality, which is imbued with traditional/restrictive as well as permissive elements that often complement each other but sometimes also contradict each other on the social and cultural level as well as on the personal level. In the context of individual biographies (reflexive project of the self) female students seem to be stretched between social demands and individual autonomy and also forced to choose between multiple choices and by far not unique meanings in the field of sexuality. Probably the most obvious limitation in the field of late-modern social and cultural organization of sexuality that was revealed by this study are the

demands of permissive sexual culture and reflexive project of the self, put on individuals in everyday life. It seems that reflexive sexuality transformed into a social imperative, which guides perceptions (and standards) on sexuality and intimate relationships in young women. Sexual reflexivity and above all demand for reciprocity

became a social »instruction« that has to be followed, and this puts pressures on young women and men as well. This has probably important consequences for quality of sexual and intimate life of young people in general.

PERCEPCIJE SEKSUALNE RECIPROČNOSTI PRI ŠTUDENTKAH V SLOVENIJI

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POVZETEK

Članek predstavlja rezultate kvalitativne raziskave o percepcijah seksualnosti pri študentkah s posebnim poudarkom na percepciji seksualne recipročnosti v partnerstvu. Namen članka je analizirati načine, s katerimi študentke konstruirajo svojo percepcijo recipročnosti, in kako je le-ta utemeljena v različnih družbenih kontekstih ter diskurzih, ki imajo implikacije za njihovo seksualno in intimno življenje (kvaliteto te). Ker je recipročnost razumljena kot osnovni element in pogoj poznomodernih partnerstev, je pozornost usmerjena v to, ali je recipročnost pri študentkah definirana na takšen način, ter kako je recipročnost kot taka konstruirana. Koncept recipročnosti je vzet kot indikator refleksivnosti seksualnih in intimnih partnerstev. Raziskavo je vodila ideja, da so percepcije seksualnosti študentk utemeljene v naslednjih ključnih družbenih kontekstih: refleksivnem individualizmu, spremembah v intimnosti in partnerstvu ter v permissivni seksualni kulturi, in da bodo značilnosti teh družbenih kontekstov prisotne v percepciji seksualnosti na splošno in še posebej seksualne recipročnosti. Vendar pa so prisotni tudi ostanki tradicionalne seksualne kulture, še posebno tisti, ki se nanašajo na razlike in neenakosti med spoloma v polju seksualnosti. Seksualna recipročnost, kot jo razumejo študentke v raziskavi, se kaže v treh značilnostih percepcije recipročnosti: prvič, recipročnost je razumljena kot osnovni element in pogoj (refleksivnega) partnerstva in seksualnosti; drugič, recipročnost je tudi uokvirjena v širšem razumevanju seksualnosti (še posebno v percepciji razlik med moško in žensko seksualnostjo); tretjič, ustvarja se določena ekonomija recipročnosti, ki pomene recipročnosti in intimnih ter seksualnih razmerij naredi kompleksne.

Ključne besede: seksualnost, študentke, seksualna recipročnost, permissivna in tradicionalna seksualna kultura

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INTIMACY TRANSFORMED? PERCEPTIONS OF LOVE, INTIMACY AND PARTNERSHIP AMONG ON-LINE DATERS IN SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates attitudes of internet daters in Slovenia on relationships, love and monogamy. Assuming that internet daters represent the so-called »dating avant-garde«, significance of gender and sexual orientation in predicting the internet daters' attitudes on the key concepts in Giddens' theory of transformation of intimacy were tested. Internet daters' attitudes are not as »revolutionary« as originally assumed. The long-term emotionally and sexually exclusive relationship remains the norm, although a higher acceptance of mutually agreed open relationships was found among homosexuals. Despite the fact that internet daters aim at »traditional types« of relationships, these are not based on traditional ideas of romantic love, but rather on the postulates of confluent love. In this sense internet daters in very general terms hold views in accordance with the theory of transformation of intimacy.

Key words: intimacy, love, partnerships, internet, internet dating, attitudes, heterosexuals, homosexuals

TRASFORMAZIONE DELL'INTIMITÀ? PERCEZIONI DI AMORE, INTIMITÀ E RAPPORTI DI COPPIA TRA UTILIZZATORI DI PORTALI INTERNET PER LA CONOSCENZA DI PARTNER IN SLOVENIA

SINTESI

L'articolo presenta i risultati di uno studio sugli atteggiamenti di alcuni utilizzatori di portali Internet per la conoscenza di partner in Slovenia per quanto riguarda i rapporti di coppia, l'amore e la monogamia. Lo studio si basa sul presupposto per cui gli utilizzatori di tali portali costituiscono un'avanguardia, per questa ragione gli autori hanno inteso controllare l'influenza esercitata dal sesso e dall'orientamento sessuale sugli atteggiamenti di tale gruppo, in riferimento alla teoria di Giddens della trasformazione dell'intimità. Gli atteggiamenti degli utilizzatori di portali Internet per la conoscenza di partner non sembrano essere così 'rivoluzionari' come ci si attendeva. Un rapporto di coppia stabile ed esclusivo tra due persone, dal punto di vista sia dell'emotività sia della sessualità, continua a essere la norma, anche se dei rapporti concordati e aperti tra partner sono considerati più accettabili tra gli omosessuali che tra gli eterosessuali. Benché gli utilizzatori di portali Internet per la conoscenza di partner desiderino »forme tradizionali« di rapporti di coppia, il fondamento di questi ultimi non è costituito dagli ideali dell'amore romantico, ma dai postulati dell'amore confluyente. In questo senso, i loro atteggiamenti si accordano in termini molto generali con la teoria della trasformazione dell'intimità.

Parole chiave: intimità, rapporto di coppia, amore, internet, internet dating, atteggiamenti, eterosessuali, omosessuale

INTRODUCTION

The increasing popularity of internet dating – i.e. using internet dating sites for meeting potential sexual or romantic partners – creates an impression that technology has finally succeeded in conquering human intimacy and has become its constitutive element. However, a brief look at the history of dating shows that technology has played an important role in dating activities from the early twentieth century on. As reported by Lawson and Leck (2006) in the USA a practice of organizing private face to face interactions for romantic activities at scheduled times and places emerged in the 1920s among middle class teenagers. »These practices developed alongside new technologies such as telephones, automobiles, and drive-in theatres, which allowed teenagers to become more independent from their parents.« (Lawson, Leck, 2006, 190). Later paper and magazine personals emerged, followed by telephone and video dating ads, personals on TV and Teletext and so forth (Hardey, 2002). Technology has been used as a mediator in romantic and sexual endeavours long before the rapid spread of the internet and its broad availability in the nineties significantly changed the relations between public and private. While internet dating is in many ways reminiscent of the old-fashioned newspaper personals, important specifics can be outlined. Several authors (e.g., Gibbs et al., 2006; Baker, 2005; Brym, Lenton, 2001; Uslaner, 2004; Kuhar et al., 2010) report that the wide circulation of internet dating abolished stigma once attached to those who were (desperately?) using newspaper ads for meeting a potential partner. Furthermore, internet dating – unlike the »old« technological mediators – broadened the marital and partnership markets, which include people who are generally outside one's social networks in real life due to spatial, social, cultural and other reasons. In such a way normative pressures, steaming from these social networks, become less important and enable people to explore new areas of sexuality and intimacy with a greater extent of anonymity and privacy (Barraket, Henry-Waring, 2008) and avoiding social stigma.

However, internet dating has also become a »mainstream« activity, which does not necessarily supersede non-virtual dating, but exists alongside off-line (traditional) marital and partnership markets. Internet also functions as a *supporting* marital and partnership market for possible later off-line dating as a lot of internet daters date on-line with the intention to find partners for a future intimate relationship.

As the internet is a specific medium of communication (i.e. computer-mediated communication), this also affects the process of searching for, contacting and communicating with potential intimate partners in on-line and (eventually) off-line settings (e.g., Walther,

1992; 1996; Merkle, Richardson, 2000; Turkle, 1995). It therefore creates a new social context in which intimate partnerships are perceived, created and sustained. It also creates new meanings of partnership itself and its various aspects, such as intimacy, sexuality, trust, fidelity and so on. The phenomenon of internet and computer-mediated partnerships should be understood in the context of broader processes such as globalization and individualization. In such a way internet dating is also a constitutive element of late-modern transformations of intimacy and sexuality (Giddens, 2000).

In the past few decades important changes have taken place in the domain of the social organisation of *intimacy* and *sexuality*, and wider in inter-gender relationships (e.g., Bauman, 1998; 2003; Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 2006; Giddens, 2000; Schmidt, 1995; 1998; Weeks, 1995). In the sphere of partnership and sexuality changes are shown in the emergence of a new type of partner relationships, *pure relationships*, a new type of love, *confluent love*, and a new type of sexuality, *plastic sexuality* (Giddens, 2000). While modern partnerships, love and sexuality have been characterised by the hierarchical sexual organisation and heteronormativity, their late-modern versions are typically based on partner equality. Furthermore, late-modern partnerships are not limited to heterosexuality and are no longer grounded in the institution of marriage (Weeks, 1995). According to Giddens, the »changes taking place do not only announce the transformation of intimacy, but also a new way of creating intimacy« (Giddens, 1998, 118). In late modernity, privacy has become ever more defined from 'within', by the individuals who live in it, rather than by social norms, values etc. Giddens (2000) believes that a pure relationship no longer depends on external conditions of social or economic worlds, but is instead free-floating.

Similar changes and transformations can be traced also in the sphere of sexuality. Through the phenomenon of plastic sexuality, sexuality is experiencing its final separation from reproduction (Giddens, 2000) which, however, is not the only aspect of the »emancipation« of sexuality in post-modern Western societies. What seems to be a more important phenomenon is the isolation of sex from other spheres of life. Sex is expected to be »self-sustaining« and self-sufficient, to »stand on its own feet«, and to be appraised according to the satisfaction it is supposed to bring (Bauman, 2003, 45).

The aim of this article is to test the key concepts transformation of intimacy theory, i.e. to investigate whether internet daters are a population whose perceptions and attitudes toward intimate relationships and sexuality are in accordance with Giddens' theory of transformation of intimacy. We predict that the new technology (internet) and the on-line marital and partnership markets as a new social place for meeting potential intimate partners, established by the internet dat-

ing sites, are attracting primarily the so-called »dating avant-garde«, which is the bearer of the late modern changes in intimacy and sexuality (cf. Giddens, 2000). Our assumption is that internet daters hold progressive views regarding love, partnerships and intimacy, i.e. views which are characteristic for the model of pure relationships. However, it should be stressed that since there is no data available on changes in the sphere of intimacy in general population in Slovenia, direct comparisons are not possible.¹ Gross and Simmons (2002) tested some aspects of Giddens' theory of transformation of intimacy, but focused mainly on (negative psychological) side-effects of pure relationships.²

In the study we have focused on the internet daters' attitudes regarding the key concepts in the theory of transformation of intimacy, i.e. attitudes on (pure) relationships, decline of romantic love and monogamy (or openness of relationships). Following the main characteristics of the transformation of intimacy we furthermore expect to find differences in the views according to gender and sexual orientation. One of the key arguments in Giddens' theory of transformation of intimacy is that heterosexuality is no longer a standard by which everything else is judged (Giddens, 2000). In this context a new form of (pure) intimate relationship is characteristic of all partnerships, regardless of sexual orientation, although gays and lesbians are more likely to form pure relationships in comparison with heterosexuals as they are not affected as much as heterosexuals by the pressure of the traditional social expectations and norms regarding (heterosexual) partnership and marriage. In this respect, we expect that homosexuals hold more progressive views regarding relationships, love and monogamy. Furthermore we expect that heterosexual women, in comparison to heterosexual men, are more likely to strive for the pure relationship as women are seen by Giddens (2000) as the bearers of the transformation of intimacy.

METHODOLOGY AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

The aim of the survey was to collect general data on the phenomenon of Internet dating in Slovenia, including data on the prevalence of internet dating, practices, dynamics and forms of using internet for dating. In addition we were interested in attitudes internet daters have

(measured by the Likert type scales) regarding on-line dating, intimate relationships, romantic love, fidelity, open relationships, sexuality and homosexuality, gender roles and family life, pornography, and sexual practices.³

Sample

The sample consists of respondents who use or used Internet dating web sites in Slovenia. The sampling was done through e-mail alerts and banners on the Internet dating sites. The questionnaire was available on-line from 26th January 2007 to 12th February 2007. 1,334 current or former internet daters participated in the study. Out of all respondents 86% filled in more than 90% of the questionnaire. Those who completed less than 90% of the questionnaire answered approximately 77% of the questions asked.

The sample consists of 40.3% male and 59.7% female respondents. 69.6% of respondents stated their sexual orientation was heterosexual, 13.7% homosexual and 11.2% bisexual. 5.5% respondents said that they were not sure what their sexual orientation was or that they could not decide upon it.

Nearly half of the respondents (47%) were between 21 and 30 years of age, followed by a little more than 20% who were aged between 31 and 40. These two age groups represent the majority of our respondents and the results primarily reflect the experiences and attitudes of these internet daters. The respondents had been using the internet for various periods of time: almost 40% were users for a year or less, 36% of respondents from one to three years and 24% had been using the internet for more than three years.

As Slovenia has no major urban centres – the capital has 350,000 inhabitants – it is difficult to talk about major differences between urban and rural centres. How the Internet reduces or perhaps sharpens these differences, remains to be researched. In our sample, 42% of respondents reside in urban centres, nearly 40% in small towns and 17% in rural areas.

The educational structure of the sample differs from the general population. In our sample the most outstanding group with respect to the education level is a group with higher or university education (nearly 27%), while 2002 Census showed that 12% of Slovenian population hold a university degree. Still, similarly as in

1 Changes in the sphere of intimacy and partnership in general population can be observed only through official statistical data which show a decline in marriage rates, increase in divorce rate, increase in cohabitation and the similar. Švab (2010) reports for female students who participated in a qualitative research on views regarding sexuality that they hold liberal views in accordance with permissive sexual culture and have reflexive demands for romantic relationships.

2 One of their hypothesis was that »people in pure love relationships are more likely to support egalitarian political arrangements« (Gross, Simmons, 2002, 542). Results show that being in a pure love relationship is positively associated with measure of political egalitarianism (Gross, Simmons, 2002, 548) which is relevant information also for our discussion.

3 All scales were tested in pilot study (in November 2006), carried out with an online questionnaire including nineteen sets of questions. The primary goal was to test the comprehensiveness, effectiveness and validity of the scales for the actual research.

the general population, there are nearly 51% of respondents who finished secondary school.

There are two large groups in our sample employment-wise: 48% of respondents were full-time or part-time employed, 40% of respondents were students. The remaining respondents were mostly unemployed or they did not provide information on their employment status. 17 respondents in our sample stated that they were retired.

As the questionnaire was intended for those who use Internet dating sites, one would expect that most of them are not in a relationship, looking for one. However, the sample consists of 53% of respondents who are momentarily not in a relationship and are looking for one – be it long term relationship or different kind of temporary relationships. The remaining respondents are in a relationship. They might be looking for contacts with other persons for different reasons or they participated in the study as those who used Internet dating sites (and have experiences in this field), but are not dating on-line at the moment. Our sample therefore consists of the »virtual internet dating community« regardless of whether one is a past or present member of this community.

Method

The analysis was done by the Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA). MCA (Andrews et al., 1973) is a multivariate method, by which relationships between multiple independent variables (or predictors) and dependent variables are analyzed. It is similar to multiple regression, with the advantage that nominal measurement level variables need not to be dichotomized.

Multiple classification analysis gives us the following information:

(1) the overall (grand) mean and group means of the dependent variable for each combination of categories of predictors;

(2) tests of significance of the whole model, the effects of single predictors as well as of interactions between them;

(3) the effect of each predictor is shown by parameter β , which tells us the effect of the predictor if other predictors are held constant; the rank order of β s shows us the relative importance of a single predictor in explaining the dependent variable;

(4) deviations from the grand mean of the dependent variable for each category of a predictor (i.e. how much would the grand mean of the dependent variable increase or decrease as a result of the effect of a certain predictor), and

(5) the percentage of explained variance for all predictors included in the analysis (R^2).

In the analysis, the dependent composite variables, measured on a 5-point scale (1 - completely disagree; 5 - completely agree) were attitudes about relationships, love and monogamy (the key concepts in the theory of transformation of intimacy). The higher the value of the variable the more respondents agree relationships are difficult to sustain, the more they value romantic love and monogamy and the more they are open to occasional extramarital affairs.

Attitudes were measured by the following scales:

(1) *The scale of relationships*, measured by six items (e.g., Today it is difficult to sustain a relationship in the long run). The scale of relationships measured Internet daters' opinions regarding today's relationships. We focused primarily on negative aspects of relationships in the long run and obstacles that might be created by being in a relationship compared to being single or having short relationships etc.

(2) *The scale of (romantic) love*, measured by three items (e.g. Marriage is a confirmation of true love). With this scale we wanted to test the hypothesis that romantic love is in decline, being replaced by the so-called confluent love (Giddens, 2000), which is based on equality between partners. The scale is comprised of the views that include characteristics of romantic love. We presumed that both, heterosexuals and homosexuals, as Giddens would claim, do not agree with the ideas of romantic love as being characteristic of today's intimate relationships (especially regarding the duration of the relationships (temporality) and the connection of love with the institution of marriage).

(3) *The scale of monogamy*, measured by four items (e.g. An open relationship is only acceptable if both partners agree to it) and

(4) *The scale of extramarital affairs*, measured by two items (e.g. It is better for a relationship if one partner does not learn about other partner's cheatings).⁴

The scale of monogamy (split into two factors: monogamy and extramarital affairs) measured attitudes on monogamy and open relationships, which represent the type of relationships opposite to traditional, monogamous, long-lasting relationships of two persons of the opposite sex. Attitudes on monogamy were measured in connection with the issues of exclusivity of partnership relation and in connection with sincerity, if the transgression of the rule of exclusivity occurs. Consisting of five items, the first three statements measured attitudes on exclusivity of sexual partners in a relationship, while the remaining two items measured attitudes on cheating.

4 Unidimensionality of all composite variables was tested by factor analysis. All items within a scale loaded on one factor except attitudes toward monogamy, which split into two factors, named here monogamy and extramarital affairs. Reliability of all composite variables was (with regard to the number of items in each scale) relatively high – Cronbach's Alphas were .78 (relationships), .63 (romantic love), .68 (monogamy) and .53 (extramarital affairs).

The effects of several predictors (independent variables) were tested. According to the theory on intimacy transformation the most important ones are gender and sexual orientation. However, to be sure that this is really the case, we included several possibly relevant control variables that could also be correlated with the tested attitudes: relationship status (being or not being in a relationship), religiosity and age. For instance, it could be expected that older respondents would agree more with monogamy and romantic love and would disagree about difficulty of sustaining relationships and having extramarital affairs. The same could be expected for religious people.

RESULTS

In Table 1 results of several MCA analyses are presented. Since there is a relatively small sample for testing

the effects of all possible relevant predictors, two MCA analyses were done for each of the dependent variables. In the first model the predictors are gender, sexual orientation, relationship status and religiosity. In the second model religiosity was substituted by age and other three predictors are the same. All models as a whole are statistically significant at $p < .001$. In the models 5 to 14% of variance is explained by the predictors included in the models.

If we look at the results more broadly, it can be seen that gender and sexual orientation have a statistically significant effect in all cases, but they are not in all cases the strongest predictors (see β s in table 1). It seems that how strong the effect of these two predictors is is mediated by the dependent variable we study and other predictors included in the models. For instance, in attitudes on the difficulty of sustaining a relationship, relationship status and age seem to be more important than gender

Table 1: MCA coefficients for attitudes on relationships, romantic love, monogamy and extramarital affairs.

Tabela 1: Rezultati multiple klasifikacijske analize za stališča do zvez, romantične ljubezni, monogamije in varanja.

		Relationships		Romantic Love		Monogamy		Extramarital affairs	
		Grand mean = 2.57		Grand mean = 2.16		Grand mean = 3.28		Grand mean = 2.68	
	N	multivariate		N	multivariate		N	multivariate	
		β	deviation		β	deviation		β	deviation
GENDER		**			***			***	
male	510		.09	510		.14	504		-.10
female	743	.099	-.06	743	.136	-.09	735	.101	.07
SEX. ORIENTATION		**			***			***	
heterosexual	916		.002	924		.08	915		.12
homosexual	183		-.13	182		-.29	181		-.31
bisexual	145	.093	.14	147	.171	-.15	143	.255	-.41
RELATIONSHIP STATUS		***						***	
yes	594		-.14	596		.002	586		-.10
no	650	.186	.13	657	.002	-.002	653	.119	.09
RELIGIOSITY					***			***	
religious	319		-.07	320		.38	316		.18
cannot say	395		.03	401		-.02	393		-.08
not religious	530	.057	.02	532	.287	-.21	530	.177	-.16
MODEL 1: multiple R ²		.054			.129			.141	

GENDER		**				***				**				***		
male	512			.07	512			.15	506			-.08	513			.17
female	735		.077	-.05	744		.154	-.11	736		.081	.05	739		.146	-.12
SEX.ORIENTATION		*				***				***				*		
heterosexual	918			-.002	926			.10	917			.14	925			-.003
homosexual	183			-.09	182			-.39	181			-.38	181			-.11
bisexual	146		.079	.13	148		.210	-.13	144		.281	-.41	146		.068	.15
RELATIONSHIP STATUS		***								***						
yes	594			-.14	596			.001	586			-.10	591			.04
no	653		.185	.13	660		.001	-.001	656		.115	.09	661		.035	-.03
AGE		***				**				***				***		
≤ 30	755			-.06	766			.06	753			.07	761			-.20
31+	492		.100	.09	490		.091	-.09	489		.110	-.11	491		.249	.31
MODEL 2: multiple R ²		.059					.056				.122				.099	

*** $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

and sexual orientation. Regarding attitudes on romantic love and monogamy, religiosity also plays a very important role and regarding having extramarital affairs age seems to be the most important predictor.

The multiple classification analysis showed that attitudes on relationships and the potential difficulty of sustaining a relationship depend primarily on the relationship status. Being (or not) in a relationship is the most important predictor in both models. It is interesting that respondents who are in a relationship perceive relationships as not so difficult to sustain, compared to those respondents who are not in a relationship. In the first model gender and sexual orientation are the next two most important predictors of the attitudes on relationships. Males, heterosexuals and bisexuals perceive relationships as difficult to sustain, but if religiosity, which does not seem to be an important predictor in this case, is replaced in the model by age, the latter comes out as the second most important predictor. With older respondents the average slightly increases, which means they perceive to a larger degree that relationships are difficult to sustain, compared to younger respondents.

With regard to the attitudes on romantic love and monogamy sexual orientation and religiosity seem to be the most important predictors. Heterosexual and religious respondents tend to be more in favor of these two concepts compared to homosexual and bisexual and non-religious and religiously unsure respondents. However, if religion is replaced by age in the model, gender becomes more important regarding romantic love (males tend to value it more) and relationship status regarding monogamy (those who are not in a relationship value it more).

Gender and sexual orientation are the most important predictors of attitudes on extramarital affairs in the first model. Females and homosexuals are less in favor of extramarital affairs compared to males, heterosexuals and bisexuals. If religion is replaced by age in the model, the latter comes out as the most important predictor and gender the second most important. Younger respondents are less open to extramarital affairs than older ones.

DISCUSSION

As internet dating is a relatively new phenomenon we expected that those who are using this technology as a means of finding potential sexual or romantic partners, represent a »dating avant-garde«, a group of people,

who are seen by Giddens as the bearers of the late-modern changes in intimacy. Furthermore we expected that internet daters also hold progressive and permissive attitudes about love, partnership and intimacy which correspond to the Giddens' theory on late-modern intimacy transformation – the latter being true especially for homosexuals who are not under pressure of the social expectations about partnerships and marriage.⁵ However a brief look at the respondents' standpoints on romantic love, monogamy and relationships reveal that their views are not as revolutionary and extreme as one might assume.

Both MCA models implied that attitudes towards relationships are best explained by one's partnership status rather than gender or sexual orientation. Those who were not in a relationship held more negative attitudes towards relationships in general. The »negative attitudes« might be linked to their expectations or fears that it is hard to sustain relationships; that relationships sooner or later tend to become a routine and that they take away personal freedom. There are at least two possible explanations for these. On the one hand such »negative« perceptions of relationships (i.e. relationships demand (too much) work, they are difficult to sustain, individuals are themselves responsible for a »successful« relationship etc.), can be traced to numerous representations in popular culture, where one's individualism, independence and freedom are highly valued and appreciated (the sex-in-the-city syndrome). It can be assumed that such imagery has its effect on people's standpoints and expectations, albeit limited. In this context, age – which also figures as a relatively important predictor – can also be explained. Younger people (from 21 to 30 years of age), who have less real life experiences in relationships and are primary consumers of popular culture products, express more negative attitudes towards relationships. These attitudes are congruent with the images created by mainstream popular culture. However, it cannot be unconditionally claimed that these representations are turning people away from wishing to be in a relationship – after all, our respondents used the internet to search for a relationship online – be it romantic or sexual. Interestingly enough those who seek sexual engagement online (one night stand, swinging, sexual partners (the so-called »fuck buddy«) etc.) held more positive attitudes on relationships compared to those who are looking for a romantic partnership.⁶

5 This is not to say that gays and lesbians in Slovenia face no social coercion; in everyday life they are faced with homophobia and heteronormativity which affects also their partnerships (cf. Švab, Kuhar, 2005).

6 A paired-sample t-test was performed, comparing those who meet people on-line in order to form a relationship, and those who meet them for sexual activities. Results are not presented here, but are available from the authors on request.

The negative attitudes could also be related to the respondents' previous experiences with relationships. Those who are not in a relationship might express more negative attitudes towards relationships precisely owing to their previous negative experiences. Age can also be a factor here. Younger people might have more idealistic expectations about relationships which dissolve once they enter into their first relationship; the incongruence between the expected and the experienced can result in holding more negative attitudes towards relationships.

Although there are some minor differences in attitudes towards relationships among men and women in our sample and among heterosexuals, homosexuals and bisexuals, the proportionally largest share of our respondents nevertheless believe that it is not difficult to sustain a relationship in the long-run (44%). They do not believe that partnerships represent an obstacle to personal freedom (68%) and that it is difficult to be in a relationship (72%). Still, the majority (58%) states that people have too high expectations about relationships today. They also give priority to long-term relationships in comparison to short adventures (70%).

While heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual men and women hold similar attitudes towards relationships in general, they differ in their perceptions and understandings of love. Most generally one could say that religious heterosexual men hold the most traditional (i.e. romantic as opposed to confluent) views regarding love.

The first MCA model implied that religiosity is the strongest predictor of the attitudes towards romantic love. The latter was measured through statements that the only true love is the one which lasts forever, that marriage is a confirmation of one's true love and that partnership can be successful only if partners get married. Both MCA models also outlined sexual orientation as an important predictor of the views towards romantic love.

As religiosity is typically linked to traditional values, it is not surprising that those who express religious beliefs also hold more traditional views on love and marriage. Religious teaching – in Slovenia the predominant religion is Roman Catholic – is based on the inseparability of marriage as a holy institution. Furthermore, marriage is considered to be the final confirmation of one's romantic relationship, which is based on the expectation that love will last forever. Although official statistics clearly run against such expectations – there is a trend of increase in divorce rates and marriage is losing its social significance in favour of informal cohabitations and other forms of intimate relationships, such as LAT relationships (living-apart-together) – it seems that at least for some people such interpretations remain the mode of life they ideally wish for themselves. These views are not reinforced only by religious institutions but also by popular culture and traditional cultural norms. The latter, as expected, have no real effect on the homosexual

community. Despite the fact that gay marriage is on the top of the political agenda of the gay and lesbian movement (also in Slovenia), the cultural normative expectations for same-sex couples do not exist and therefore do not represent a cultural pressure, which would affect gay and lesbian partnerships. These partnerships are faced with a different »pressure« – that of heteronormativity. Nevertheless – as shown in our research – homosexuals (and bisexuals) can be seen as the bearers of the new, non-traditional concept of love, which Giddens calls »confluent love« (based on equality and not limited to heterosexual population). Confluent love is an opposite to romantic love (based on traditional patriarchal gender relations, presupposing emotional equality with material gender inequality).

Furthermore, women are bearers of these changes to a greater extent than men as the latter on average hold more traditional attitudes on romantic love than the former. There is also a statistically significant difference between homosexuals and heterosexuals in their attitudes towards romantic love. Heterosexuals in general hold more traditional views on romantic love while homosexuals do not see love forever as the objective they would strive for. They also do not relate it to the institution of marriage. The latter is also increasingly true for heterosexuals. The majority of heterosexuals (88%) and homosexuals (92%) namely disagree that marriage is a necessary condition for a successful relationship, which is also an indicator of a decline in the social importance of the institution of marriage in Western countries as well as in Slovenia. Nevertheless, it seems that for heterosexuals the institution of marriage still has some (romantic) meaning, while for homosexuals it has practically no meaning in romantic terms – also owing to the fact that marriage was never open for homosexuals in Slovenia. The latter was also confirmed in the research on everyday life of gays and lesbians in Slovenia (Švab, Kuhar, 2005) in which a majority of gays and lesbians surveyed reported they would not marry (if this institution was available for them) for romantic, but rather for practical reasons (inheritance rights, social and economic rights, health issues etc.). Such an approach to marriage and love is to a large degree shared by our respondents – almost half of them disagree that the only true love is the one that lasts forever. Today's relationships are viewed by them as temporary, with the assumption that the relationship might end at some point in the individual's life course.

To a certain extent views regarding romantic love are reflected also in our respondents' attitudes towards monogamy and extramarital affairs. Most heterosexuals in our sample hold traditional views on relationships – for a majority of them (76%) there is only one type of true partnership – a monogamous relationship between two individuals. For these reasons, having extramarital (sexual) relationships is not acceptable for most of them

(66%). Similarly, most of them (60%) do not believe that extramarital (sexual) connections are helpful in maintaining the primary relationship. While fidelity seems to be of a high value for heterosexual respondents, they have less clear standpoints on the »nature« of fidelity. While most of them (46%) believe that people are monogamous by nature, there is a considerable percentage of those who have doubts about it (30%) or do not agree at all (24%) with such a statement. This also explains the non-unified opinion on what to do if cheating – which for most of them (nearly 66%) is not acceptable – occurs. Proportionally the biggest percentage – over 41% – believes that it is better for a relationship if the partner does not learn about cheating, nearly 35% thinks the opposite, while nearly 24% cannot decide what is better. These data imply that despite the radical changes in the sphere of intimacy, monogamy remains the prevailing institution in views and practice.

While similar standpoints can be traced also in the homosexual and bisexual groups, there are some important differences in opinions on the exclusivity of the relationships. In the homosexual group there is a much clearer support for open relationships (78%) – where both partners agree with such an arrangement – than in the heterosexual group (58%). It seems that in the latter the concept of open relationship is to a much lesser extent a valid relationship option.

Both MCA models showed that sexual orientation is the strongest predictor when it comes to the attitudes towards monogamy. It is even more important than religiosity, which nevertheless plays a role in what one's attitudes on monogamy are. According to the American research (Christopher, Sprecher, 2000) permissive attitudes towards extramarital affairs are linked to higher education, lower religiosity, being male and being sexually permissive. The latter – sexual permissiveness – might be typical especially for male homosexuals, as previous research has shown (e.g., Kurdek, 1991) that in gay relationships there is generally a higher acceptance of non-monogamy compared to heterosexual or lesbian relationships. However, according to our research, this acceptance is linked to the reflexivity of such relationships. Non-monogamy is acceptable in the event an open relationship is considered by the partners as a valid option. Partners may be non-monogamous if such an arrangement is agreed upon beforehand. This also explains why sexual orientation is not the strongest predictor of internet daters' attitudes towards extramarital affairs. Although in the homosexual and bisexual groups extramarital affairs are acceptable to a higher degree (27% and 34% respectively) than in the heterosexual group (12%), generally all three groups are critical to-

wards it. It can be assumed that such »non-monogamy« is not acceptable for the gay and bisexual groups as it is considered as a deceit and not an agreed upon partnership arrangement. Age seems to be the strongest predictor here – younger people find extramarital affairs less acceptable (67% are against them) than older people (51%).

In conclusion, a long-term emotionally and sexually exclusive relationship between two persons remains the norm most of the heterosexual (and to a certain extent also homosexual and bisexual) respondents strive for. However, these respondents are also aware of the fact that exclusivity of the relationship is hard to maintain – although they do not appreciate extramarital liaisons (unless both partners agree to it) – they are well aware of the fact that such liaisons may occur and have a different opinion on what extent one should discuss it with his or her partner. In general extra-relationship contacts are more acceptable and more openly discussed in the homosexual group (47%), while the heterosexual group (35%) still seems to be under the pressure of the traditional (romantic) images of exclusive monogamous long-lasting relationship. Nevertheless there is one thing that stands out in the internet daters' attitudes: the fact that romantic love is being more and more replaced by the postulates of confluent love. Although monogamous and exclusive intimate relationships are the predominant form of intimate relationships internet daters (regardless of sexual orientation) strive for, such relationships are nevertheless different from the traditional understandings of intimate relationships. Perceptions of late-modern (pure) relationships are based on a new concept of love, i.e. confluent love, instead of its predecessor – romantic love, as presupposed by Giddens (2000).⁸ In this sense it could be said that internet daters in very general terms nevertheless hold views in accordance with the characteristics presupposed by the theory of transformation of intimacy, although these views were not shown in our study as explicitly as we had assumed.

CONCLUSION

The sample of internet daters in Slovenia turned out to be rather common in their attitudes on partnerships, romantic love and monogamy. Unlike our initial hypothesis that those who use internet dating sites might be the bearers of late-modern changes in intimacy (young people, literate in computer communication), their views generally do not express to a large degree explicitly progressive and late-modern positions which would not be found in the general public. It means that internet dating has become a mainstream activity, an

8 If romantic love is characterised by emotional equality and social inequality between partners and it presupposes marriage (heterosexuality) and eternal commitment, confluent (and reflexive) love is based on constant work on and reflection of (the meaning of) a relationship, equality between partners and is not limited to marriage and heterosexuality.

important marital market, where people meet, chat and date and it could be argued that they do not substantially differ in their attitudes from those who date in »traditional ways«. In fact, we believe that more or less same people occupy both markets. Internet has simply become just an additional space in the marital market. It means that differences in attitudes cannot be explained solely by the very fact that these people use the internet for dating, but rather through »classical« predictors such as religiosity, sexual orientation, gender and age as shown in our MCA models. Internet daters can be tradi-

tional or late-modern – it is not the fact that they are internet daters which would influence one or another, but rather other demographic factors and also cultural differences, which were not discussed in this article. In the context of the late-modern praise of individuality traditional cultural norms about love, marriage and relationships might be losing their power. Individuality offers choice – and one might choose either a »traditional pattern« or not. The cultural norms loosen, but traditional patterns are still floating around.

PREOBRAZBA INTIMNOSTI? PERCEPCIJE LJUBEZNI, INTIMNOSTI IN PARTNERSTEV MED UPORABNIKI SPLETNIH PORTALOV ZA SPOZNAVANJE PARTNERJEV V SLOVENIJI

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POVZETEK

V zadnjih desetletjih so se zgodile pomembne spremembe v družbeni organizaciji intimnosti in seksualnosti. Teorija Anthonyja Giddensa o preobrazbi intimnosti jih povezuje z nastankom novih partnerskih razmerij (čista razmerja), novimi oblikami ljubezni (sotočna ljubezen) in z novimi oblikami seksualnosti (plastična seksualnost). Avtorji študije so predvidevali, da je omenjene spremembe mogoče zaznati tudi v novih oblikah spoznavanja partnerjev, povezanih z novimi tehnologijami, kakršna je uporaba spletnih portalov za spoznavanje potencialnih intimnih partnerjev. Domnevali so, da tisti, ki uporabljajo internet za spoznavanje potencialnih partnerjev in so s tem del spletnega maritalnega in partnerskega trga, v kontekstu zmenkov predstavljajo t. i. »avantgardo«, za katero bodo značilna postmoderna stališča, povezana s preobrazbo intimnosti. Glavni cilj študije je bil raziskati, ali uporabniki spletnih portalov za spoznavanje partnerjev v Sloveniji (N=1334) predstavljajo populacijo, katere stališča glede partnerskih zvez, ljubezni in seksualnosti so v skladu z Giddensovo teorijo. Za analizo je bila uporabljena metoda MCA (Multiple Classification Analysis), s katero so avtorji preverili, v kolikšni meri spol in spolna usmerjenost uporabnikov spletnih portalov za spoznavanje partnerjev vplivata na njihova stališča glede ključnih postavk teorije preobrazbe intimnosti. Poleg tega so v model MCA kot kontrolne spremenljivke vključili partnerski status, religioznost in starost.

Raziskava je pokazala, da stališča uporabnikov spletnih portalov za spoznavanje partnerjev glede (romantične) ljubezni, partnerstev in monogamije niso tako »revolucionarna«, kot so avtorji predvidevali. Zdi se, da je internet postal preprosto le dodatni vidik maritalnega trga, kar pomeni, da razlik med tistimi, ki so del tega trga, ne moremo pojasnjevati izključno na podlagi dejstva, da posamezniki uporabljajo spletne portale za spoznavanje potencialnih partnerjev. Stališča nam bolje pojasnijo »klasične« spremenljivke, kot so religioznost, spolna orientacija, partnerski status, spol, starost ipd. Dva modela MCA, ki sta bila uporabljena v analizi, sta pokazala, da stališča anketirancev glede partnerskih zvez najboljše pojasni posameznikov partnerski status, religioznost v največji meri napove posameznikova stališča glede romantične ljubezni, stališča glede monogamije pa se najbolj razlikujejo glede na spolno

usmerjenost posameznika. Ne glede na to je dolgotrajno čustveno in seksualno ekskluzivno partnersko razmerje med dvema oseba še vedno norma, h kateri teži večina anketirancev ne glede na spolno usmerjenost. Na splošno lahko rečemo, da so zunajpartnerska razmerja (dogovorne odprte zveze) bolj sprejemljiva v skupini homoseksualcev, ki s svojimi partnerji o tovrstnih zvezah tudi več razpravljajo, medtem ko se za heteroseksualce zdi, da so pod pritiskom tradicionalnih podob ekskluzivnih monogamnih dolgotrajnih partnerskih zvez. Kljub vsemu pa v stališčih uporabnikov spletnih portalov za iskanje potencialnih partnerjev izstopa dejstvo, da koncept romantične ljubezni vse bolj zamenjujejo postulat sotočne ljubezni. To pomeni, da so partnerske zveze, h katerim si prizadevajo, vseeno drugačne od tradicionalnega razumevanja intimnega partnerstva. V tem smislu lahko zaključimo, da so stališča uporabnikov spletnih portalov v zelo splošnih potezah v skladu s karakteristikami, ki jih predvideva teorija preobrazbe intimnosti, čeprav te niso tako eksplisitno vidne, kot so avtorji uvodoma domnevali.

Ključne besede: intimnost, partnerstvo, ljubezen, internet, spletni zmenki, stališča, heteroseksualci, homoseksualci

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INTIMACY IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNET DATING

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ABSTRACT

This article considers some aspects of intimacy that we come across in the context of internet dating. The research method is based on a qualitative analysis of 66 semi-structured in-depth interviews with individuals that have experience in internet dating. Internet dating is still gaining its importance in Slovenia due to being a relatively new way of getting in touch with potential intimate partners. In accordance with the nature of establishing intimate relationship on-line, experiences of internet dating influence the following aspects of intimacy: easiness in becoming intimate in on-line communication, fall of the intimacy at the transition to face-to-face meetings, experiencing internet dating as a self-reflexivity tool, increasing importance of disclosing intimacy and the transformed understanding of on-line-only contacts with emotional involvement, such as cheating.

Key words: internet dating, perceptions of intimacy, self-reflexivity, emotional involvement, cheating

L'INTIMITÀ NEL CONTESTO DELL'»INTERNET DATING«

SINTESI

Il presente articolo prende in esame alcuni aspetti dell'intimità, per come essi prendono forma nel contesto della conoscenza di un potenziale partner attraverso Internet. La ricerca si basa su un'analisi qualitativa di 66 interviste semistrutturate, riguardanti un ampio ambito di aspetti sociologici relativi all'internet dating. Nel contesto sloveno l'internet dating continua a rappresentare un contributo particolare, poiché costituisce una modalità relativamente nuova di conoscenza di potenziali partner attraverso Internet. Per la particolare natura dei rapporti che si instaurano in una comunicazione inizialmente basata sull'uso esclusivo della modalità on line, le esperienze di internet dating influiscono su aspetti concettuali dell'intimità quali la facilità a intrecciare relazioni intime nelle comunicazioni on line, la caduta dell'intimità nel momento di passaggio agli incontri personali in presenza, la percezione di Internet come spazio di autoriflessione e ampliamento del concetto di intimità emotiva, che modifica le modalità di comprensione del tradimento nei rapporti fondati esclusivamente sulla comunicazione on line.

Parole chiave: internet dating, definizione di intimità, riflessività, coinvolgimento emotivo, definizione di tradimento

INTRODUCTION

In contrast to its very beginning, internet dating is widely used and a more and more accepted way of searching for an intimate partner. Roots of searching for an intimate partner with the help of the computer go back to the 1960s when the first computer service for dating was established (Orr, 2004). Expansion and specification of internet dating obtain its proliferation from 1990s with a constant striving of the internet dating industry to reach the needs of potential users. The internet and internet dating as a place of getting in touch with a potential intimate partner with its special characteristics of building relationships on the basis of the computer mediated communication broaden the already diffusive concept of intimacies. How and why it will be revealed through this article.

The concept of intimacy is multifaceted and the definition of it depends on whom you ask what it means (Miller, Perlman, 2009, 2). Intimate relationships between two persons include extensive knowledge about each other, caring about each other, interdependence of intimates, mutuality, trust and commitment (Miller, Perlman, 2009, 2). Similar intimacy grounds are stressed by Lynn Jamieson (1998, 8) who defines intimacy as close association in which people acquire familiarity, that is shared detailed knowledge about each other, where understanding, knowing, trust, loving, caring and sharing play central role. Intimate relationships are no longer bounded in the field of family life and family ties, instead the concept of intimacy is decentralised by the un-standardized intimacies among friends, un-monogamous lovers, ex-partners, partners who do not live together, partners without sexual relationships, that is, between those who do not fit in the binary model »friend«/»lover« (Roseneil, Budgeon, 2004, 137). It is culturally and historically determined what the ways of »searching« for intimacies are and from whom (according to the relationship character) they may be expected and accepted. So the »new« technologies of computer mediated communication, which offer recently broadly accepted complementary way of getting in touch with potential partner in bars, parties, hobby groups, working environment etc. (Hogan et al., 2011, 16), not only have impact on expansion of ways of getting in touch with a possible intimate partner, but also have impact on how intimacy is established, how it is defined, how it is linked with self-reflexivity and consequently how it impacts other concepts that are part of an intimate partnership, such as cheating. The article will reveal some characteristics of perceptions of intimacy through inter-

net dating with the emphasis on:

- internet dating as a tool for self-reflexivity,
- easiness of intimacy development and self-disclosure on-line,
- fall of the intimacy in first face-to-face meetings,
- perceptions of intimacy of internet daters and
- perceptions of cheating of internet daters.

To encompass all the stated aspects of intimacy in the context of internet dating the article will base on the context of cyberspace as a »site in which embodied experience associated with the formation of intimacy, both on-line and face-to-face is mediated« (Barraket, Henry-Waring, 2008, 153).

RESEARCH METHOD

The article is based on my research of broader concepts of sociological aspects of internet dating. Research grounds on qualitative data collection followed by thematic qualitative analysis which is frequently used by researchers of internet dating (Ben-Ze'ev, 2004; Couch, Liangputtong, 2008; Barraket, Henry-Waring, 2008; Xie, 2007). For the purpose of the research I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews¹ with the participants, who self-identified as having experiences in searching for a partner on the internet. Participants of the survey, among whom there were 34 men and 32 women, were recruited in three steps: first on-line through the e-mail invitation of those who participated in the first Slovene on-line quantitative research about internet dating in 2006 (made by Alenka Švab, Roman Kuhar and Tina Kogovšek) and left their e-mail addresses as a sign of their willingness to cooperate in further researches about this theme. Secondly, I used snowball sampling from contacts of the first participants. As the third step, an invitation to take part in the research was made on some Slovene web pages designed for internet dating (Ona-on.com, Frenki&flirt.com, Flirtko.com, Spoznaj.si) and on some forums (www.med.over.net). Recruitment was accommodated to the response rate, by which the diversity of the sample was obtained (Taylor, Bogdan, 1998, 92).

At the beginnings of the research, participants were notified of the intention of the survey and of the contents of the research. To assure anonymity, they were asked to choose a nick name. Because it was found during the research that some of the participants used the nick names by which they are known in some internet networks and in some case there was no chance to identify gender of the used nick name, all nick names were codified in personal names that reveal the gender of the interviewee and assure anonymity of participant. Interviews were conducted from 31st July 2008 to 15th January 2009.

1 For the purpose of their study, graduate student of Cultural studies and two postgraduate students of Sociology: Studies of everyday life conducted some of the interviews.

Research included 66² semi-structured in-depth interviews. Due to a participant's current living in another country (Bosnia and Herzegovina), one interview was made by Skype interaction, all others were made face-to-face. All interviews were recorded with the participants' permission and transcribed in second step. Interviews lasted between 23 minutes to 1 hour and 45 minutes, on average about one hour. Locality, spot and time of the interview were suggested by the participants of the research. Mainly they suggested public places such as quiet coffee rooms etc.

The average age of the participants was 34.3 years. The youngest participant, female, was 19 years old and the oldest participant, male, was 72 years old. The average age of female participants was 33.1 year, and the average age of male participants was 35.4 years. Participants declared that they had been searching for a partner on the internet from at least 1 month to up to 11 years. Approximately one half of the participants obtained their experiences in internet dating through »accidental« or »secondary« online contact (Barraket, Henry-Waring, 2008, 153). They had no intention of finding a partner on-line at first, but were just trying to build a new friendship or were on the net with the intention of social gathering. By the time of the research, 42 participants were in a partnership, among which 31 partnerships (of 19 female and 12 male interviewees) originated in internet dating. Among those who were still searching, there were 15 male and 9 female interviewees.

RESULTS

Internet dating: a tool for self-reflexivity and market of choice

Late modernity intimate lives are influenced by the global concept of individualisation. Our life courses are more and more unpredictable and also more and more heterogeneous. If we concentrate only on the phase of life course that we spend living in couple trajectories, it can be very heterogeneous. Changes in decision making about building relationships and our persistence in an

intimate relationship are by the definitions of Giddens (1992) and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) a consequence of individualisation, which in the lives of individuals determines demands for a reflexive self which replace a socially determined life-course. Loosening of a socially predetermined life course does not lead to the reduced role of intimate relationships but instead the very insecure nature of it demands conscious decisions about getting in or out of intimate relationships. Attraction of (good) close relationships grows with the importance of love and intimacy. Changes in intimate relationships include above all obligations with regards to relationships and the expected duration of intimate partnerships³ that become more open, flexible and fragile. Because of chances, or better urges for choice of individuals, the feeling of security is lessening and paradoxically the quest for greater security is the product of individualization. The feeling of security and reliability is trying to be obtained in the field of private life (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, 50).

Internet dating can also be viewed through the lens of Giddens' idea of the transformation of intimacy, revealed through growth of pure relationships and confluent love,⁴ which last only until it is satisfying for both sides and worth continuing (Giddens, 2000, 68). Openness of identity and reflexivity of the self become the main characteristics of a highly reflective society. The self is a highly reflexive project, it is a continuous questioning of our past, present and future (Giddens, 2000, 37). Reflexivity is also strongly embedded in the search for our intimate partner. In contemporary society, risky and diffusive marital market is trying to be controlled by technological and scientific services (Bulcroft et al., 2000). Internet dating in its first steps mitigates uncertainty of partner selection and has, according to the opinion of participants of the survey, many advantages comparing to the usual searching for intimate partners. Basically there are four main characteristics that stimulate »the lure of on-line relationships« dating: anonymity, availability, imagination and interactivity (Ben-Ze'ev, 2004). If we look at the main advantages through the lens of persons with experience in internet dating, the list of advantages is much longer and embraces charac-

2 Besides the final number of 66 interviews, there were also 8 interviews with homosexually oriented participants, who were excluded from current research due to the focus of the research on heterosexual population. Sexual orientation is believed to have an impact on predisposition of grounds that influence decision for internet dating. The context of internet dating could also be different due to sexual orientation, which is the reason I concentrated solely on heterosexuals. In addition, one interview with a female respondent who had no experience in internet dating, except her friends' on-line communication, was also excluded from the sample.

3 Discussion whether internet dating stimulates the development of intimate partnerships on the basis of a high level of reflexivity and on the basis of endeavours for the formation of pure relationships with confluent love as contrary to understanding of romantic love would be interesting. Mentioned distinctions that base on Giddens' theory of transformation of intimacy will this time be omitted; instead I am concentrating on the above mentioned aspects of intimacies in internet dating.

4 When talking about an intimate partnership between two heterosexually oriented individuals most modern days theorists use the concept of romantic relationships or romantic love (Merkle, Richardson, 2000; Gross, Simmons, 2002; Ben-Ze'ev, 2004; Gross, 2005; Illouz, 2007; Illouz, Finkelmann, 2009). Due to the avoidance of use of either terminology, for the purpose of this article when talking about internet dating the search for intimate partner of the opposite sex is considered.

teristics such as the ease of the first contact, the comfort of home use, anonymity, smaller impact of physical attraction factor, feelings of knowing someone well due to the possibility of long conversations prior to face-to-face contacts, openness and ease of expressing emotions, reflexivity of the self; clear intentions impact possibilities to skip some phases in our search for the 'perfect' other, functioning of the internet as a market where search criteria are personally determined, less painful on-line rejections, flexible time use, economy of time use and economy of costs. Many of the listed priorities intertwine and depend on each other.

It is interesting that there are two stated advantages that could fit in two main contradictory theories of intimate lives. On the one hand there is the advantage of self-reflexivity which supports Giddens' idea of transformation of intimacy and the concept of the reflexive self:

I tried to maintain the communication with as many people as possible, even with those people where I knew right away that I do not want to meet them face to face. But it seemed important to me that communication develops to its final point. .../ Because it seemed very interesting to me: by this you get to know yourself and others, you learn how to communicate, and at the same time you check: you check yourself, whether your expectations are too narrow, too wide, too high, too low. .../ If you broaden your communication and you learn how other people communicate and what they are like, what kind of demands they have, I think that by this knowledge you open yourself. By this you come out of your patterns. We all have an idea of what sort of people we like and who we don't like. These ideas are narrow, whether we want it or not. I think that we are not aware of it, and that I broadened or changed my expectations with the help of the internet. .../ This was one aspect, I think, where I couldn't be different as otherwise, but where I could develop myself. This I think is one of the great advantages of the internet. (Jana, 42)

Jana clearly estimates her internet dating experiences as a self-reflexive project of constant search for who she is and what she wants, all that in the context of on-line communication with a potential intimate partner. She defines her internet dating experience as a place where she could develop herself. Similarly, other participants mentioned their self-reflexivity concept when talking about the contents of their profiles. Through on-line communication with other people they found out that it is hard to give information or presentations of themselves that are congruent with other's view of them. That is also the reason for questioning who they really are, what they really like and what kind of people they are actually looking for:

.../ I also had wrong perceptions of myself and if I wrote it down in a profile, half of it would be wrong. (Domen, 24)

Contrary we come across the advantage of functioning of the internet as a market where search criteria are personally determined. The idea of internet dating in the context of a market metaphor or »relationshopping« (Heino et al., 2010) could fit in the concept of Bauman's idea of »liquid love« (2003), where desire is privileged over intimacy. On-line dating is from this point of view seen as a market where people can fulfil their rational choices:

On portals you have partners just like on the shelves in the market. You can pass from one to another and you read the profile. .../ you can send more offers at the same time, something that wouldn't work if you were getting to know a person the usual way. .../ Here it is as I said: there are many choices, everything is open, and if it seems to you that what you see is close to being real, then you decide. (Miha, 25)

It is different (the way of getting to know people on internet, note T. Žakelj). Actually you come, look around a bit, and choose. Almost as you would buy a car. (Nives, 25)

Again internet dating cannot be seen only as a field of rational choice or on the other side a field of a self-reflexive opening towards others or searching for ourselves. It gives opportunities for both ways of getting in touch with potential intimate partners.

Easiness of intimacy and self-disclosure

Internet is a place of great opportunities that enable building several relationships. Either intentional or accidental contacts with different people not only make it possible to establish important ties with people who we find interesting on different grounds, internet contacts and relationships also ease the transformation of the self into who we believe we are. Internet relationships in their very beginnings include high level of self-disclosure and intimacies (Schofield Clark, 1998; Hughes, Hans, 2001). That is the reason why the feeling of the opportunity of self-disclosure and building intimacies can be stated as one of the advantages of internet dating:

I was on the net because it somehow felt closer to my heart. Because you can simply be more open on the net. Somehow I found that I can trust someone more on the internet. Here you can share more intimate things than with someone you see face-to-face for the first time. In that case there has to be a very strong physical attraction, not so much intellectual, personal attraction. (Miha, 25)

Being more open, being who an individual believes he/she is, establishing trust and intimacies are the possibilities that base on the grounds of anonymity. A decreased level of vulnerability in phases when we meet people on-line is the key to the perception of safety. Deep emotional self-disclosure and intimacy as its product create the feeling that we have known someone that we met on the internet dating site »forever« and that is typical of on-line acquaintances. The fast and more profound nature of on-line self-disclosure lead to faster and more profound intimacy. Due to the dynamic nature of development of relationships on the net, intimacy could be achieved much faster comparing to off-line relationships (Ben-Ze'ev, 2004; McKenna et al., 2002). One of the many paradoxes of internet dating is revealed here, on the one hand we can know what the feelings of someone are, what he/she thinks, what his/her deepest thoughts are, but on the other hand we can hardly know any personal data of the same individual. Or as Ben-Ze'ev puts it: »...it is more likely that in cyberspace the process of self-disclosure will be linear, moving in a unidirectional and cumulative fashion from nondisclosure to near full disclosure (Ben-Ze'ev, 2004, 35). Whether called full disclosure or deep self disclosure in an on-line relationship, discussing personal and intimate things is not only permitted, it is much more – it is the expected norm (Ben-Ze'ev, 2004, 39):

I have to admit that I am too trustful. That I sometimes said things that I shouldn't have. At least not at the beginning of the relationships. That relationship often ends and then some strangers know things about you that you do not even share with the near ones. Sometimes I think I should wait for the relationship to develop, to meet face-to-face and that the relationship is in progress before you tell some things. But I had this feeling of easiness because you don't know who I am and I don't know who you are. That's why we can discuss really intimate things without a problem. You reveal your feelings here, your emotions, you analyse you life signs. That I shouldn't have done. But I did it very often (Nika, 25)

Hidden by the nick name and also often by to some degree fake personal data that have the intention of preserving anonymity in such a small region as Slovenia,⁵ internet daters have a feeling that they can talk about intimacies, about their feelings, emotions, about their lives without fear. In this case we talk about the »on-line disinhibition effect« which makes people on-line feel less inhibited and express themselves more

openly (Suler, 2004, 321). It is typical of on-line communication to include a greater part of more intimate questions and a smaller part of marginal questions which results in highly intimate discussions. It is hard to say whether the ease with which people communicate intimately is a trap of internet dating – when people are making decisions whether to develop a relationship to further phases or to finish the acquaintance, I believe it is more a condition. A high level of intimacy, based on deep self-disclosure is one of the main characteristics of the on-line phase of searching for an intimate partner on the internet. As soon as a relationship develops one step further, to face-to-face meetings, the feeling of intimacy needs to be established once again on different grounds.

Fall of the intimacy in transformation of on-line-only contacts to off-line meetings

Face-to-face meeting is a crucial point that determines whether the relationship that started on-line will develop or the process of getting to know someone will stop. Connected with the feeling of danger of self-disclosure, intimacy becomes the central theme in a cross point from on-line-only communication to face-to-face meetings with potential intimate partners. Fall of the intimacy is one of the signifiers of the transformation of on-line-only contacts to face-to face meetings (Ben-Ze'ev, 2004). Due to the loss of anonymity the feeling of vulnerability increases. It becomes harder to discuss intimate things, to reveal deepest thoughts, feelings, fears and hopes. While it is so easy to share intimate details with someone we know only on-line, the need to step forward and meet face-to-face grows, especially because of the clear aim to find someone to share our life with. Participants of the survey reported the loss of intimacy with the transition to face-to-face contacts very often. When on the internet they got the feeling they had known each other forever, this feeling usually disappeared in first face-to-face contacts:

In a way it seems to me that when you meet the person face-to-face it is as if you are getting to know him all over again, as if you had just met him, as if you must introduce yourself once again. Perhaps just at the first moment to break the ice. /.../ Even though you talk about intimate and personal things in a chat-room, face-to-face you do not cross that line, especially not at the first meeting. You still hold yourself back a bit. It is as you are getting to know that person all over again. (Urša, 28)

⁵ The profile information of internet dating sites usually request data such as the date of birth, place of residence etc. This personal data could, if it was supplied accurately in such a small country as Slovenia, threaten one of the biggest attractions of internet dating sites – anonymity.

The feelings of closeness and bounds that are created solely on the basis of on-line communication could be incredible. Anja wanted to get into a face-to-face meeting with a man with whom, she said they were like married on the net:

With this person we were like an old married couple or like a brother and sister or, I do not know, as best friends for the whole life. We trusted each other everything and so we wanted to get to know each other face-to-face. Then it came to it. /.../ But when I saw this man I became speechless, and I don't know, I just missed the keyboard and computer screen in front of me. That was it. It was such a hard experience. /.../ We had nothing to talk about. Then the conversation started but really, it is so much easier to write than it is to talk. (Anja, 31)

Space closeness and the fall of the anonymity cause greater vulnerability. In the first face-to-face contacts it becomes inappropriate to ask or explain intimate things:

Because it is like that – the more impersonal the communication, the more we dare. /.../ Then, when you are face-to-face, to me at least it seems a bit immoral, but it is inappropriate to ask or explain intimate things. (Miha, 25)

Regarding intimacy, face-to-face meetings with potential intimate partners that met on-line represent a step back. The process of getting to know each other starts almost once again. At this point it is important to say that people with the experience of internet dating that invest lots of time and energy in the development of an on-line relationship probably have bigger feeling of the fall of the intimacy, comparing to those with clear aims to meet a person face-to-face as soon as possible. In this case on-line dating can not be regarded as the start of the relationship but merely as a tool for getting into contact with each other.

Perceptions of intimacy of internet daters

Intimacy could be defined as a concept which encompasses romantic or sexual ties in close personal relationships (Santore, 2008, 1201). The main role in the development of intimate relationships is ascribed to the work of the individual, where intimacy is a »do-it-yourself« project. It is interesting to look at the perceptions of intimacy of internet daters. How do they define intimacy, which type of intimacy do they recognise and which type do they stress?

It is not surprising that most perceptions of intimacy focus on the distinction between disclosing intimacy and physical intimacy (Jamieson, 1998, 1999). What is surprising is that if we expected reducing intimacy to the

physical intimacy of the sex and seeing sex as all the intimacy you need as more common among men than women (Jamieson, 1998, 131), answers of the participants of the research are quite atypical:

To be intimate with someone, to share intimate things, is one aspect of intimacy. The other is physical intimacy. I can also be intimate with men friends, but not physically. Physically I can only be intimate with a woman. (Toni, 40)

To share some life experience with someone or to share your feelings could be much more intimate than having sex. (Niko, 41)

Mainly it is that you can be who you really are. Then it is opening to each other and trusting and getting it back. (Gašper, 29)

Intimacy is not just sex, but for me it is trust, the profoundness of love. (Marija, 42)

Physical intimacy is seen as just one of the aspects of intimate life. Disclosing intimacy is characterised by trust, opening towards each other and profoundness of love, with no gender differences in defining intimacy. It is possible that the experience of internet dating and the intimacy within it leads towards the strengthening of the meaning of disclosing intimacy and on the other hand also towards understanding of new dimensions of intimacy – such as the spiritual dimension:

There are several types of intimacy. It depends on how close you let someone. Whether on emotional, physical or spiritual level, from some point on there is intimacy. These boundaries are determined in several spheres. (Franci, 43)

The way we understand the concept of intimacy influences understanding of trust, ties between intimate partners and the definition of cheating. If it is clear that on-line communications with the intention of building intimate relationships present a great potential for emotional disclosure and its consequential growth of the importance of disclosing intimacy, then we come across the question of how internet daters define the concept of cheating.

Perceptions of cheating

Internet dating and all activities included in it, from e-messages to cyber sex call for a new conceptual discussion about cheating. On-line affairs can be in some ways more seductive than off-line affairs (Whitty, Carr, 2006). Perceptions of cheating which I for the purpose of the article equalize with the term *infidelity* could be

divided into emotional and sexual cheating, by which sexual cheating means having sex with someone other than your partner and emotional cheating means being in love with someone other than your partner (Buss et al. in Whitty, Quigley, 2008; Kinsley in Barta, Kiene, 2005). According to the great potential of emotional disclosure in internet dating activities we can expect extension of understanding of cheating. Do experiences of great emotional disclosures in the process of internet dating provoke any changes in the perceptions of cheating? To what extent do concepts of cheating depend on intimacy? What are perceptions of cheating of people who search for their soul mate by internet dating? And finally, could on-line-only activities without a face-to-face meeting mean cheating?

Off course, this is an affair. Because an affair is to go emotionally somewhere else, this could mean to work, to the internet or anywhere else. With emotions you are no longer with your partner. (Toni, 40)

If this lasted, if the number of letters increased, then this would be cheating. If there was a polite end, or a slow withdrawal and an explanation that now I am in a relationship, this wouldn't be cheating. But if you intensify and turn somebody on and you have a girlfriend otherwise, this is cheating. It could also be only teasing, but it is not my style. (Leon, 34)

/.../ I would feel deceived if Tadej shared intimate things with another woman on-line, I would. (Nina, 30)

It depends on what you talk about. If there are some very personal talks and seduction, then it is cheating. The moment deeper feelings are present, it is cheating. No matter whether you have physical contact or not. (Klementina, 29)

Perception of cheating becomes linked up with the feeling of emotional disclosure, which is a key element of cheating in case of internet dating. Emotional involvement and its consequences are unavoidable when talking of mutual self-disclosure in on-line relationships. Intensive emotional ties in on-line relationships have the potential to jeopardize existent relationships (Merkle, Richardson, 2000; Whitty, 2005). The concept of cheating again demolishes clear boundaries: while on-line relationships with emotional disclosure are perceived as cheating and the emotional involvement is a critical point of interpretation of cheating, on the other hand sexual relationships lose its character of cheating if they do not include emotional involvement. Sexual defeat is minimized in case of lack of emotional depth, which leads to thinking of it as being »just sex«:

Yes, having on-line-only relationship can be cheating. Because you cheat more when your feelings are elsewhere, than when you cheat physically. (Anita, 41)

Cheating is an interesting notion. I treat it completely differently. To me it is cheating if a person is emotionally attached to someone else. If there are these affairs here and there, I now treat them completely differently, that is just sex. Ok, it depends on how you see it. To me it is just a sign. I know that in my case, when I fell in love (online, note Žakelj) it was cheating, a different kind of an affair. Because I lived for him, I dreamt him... (Marija, 42)

I do not know, I have a different view on cheating. These one time adventures are not cheating. To me cheating is when someone wants to sit on two chairs. (Aleš, 37)

Dependence of understanding of cheating from the perceived emotional input in the relationships reveals also that participants of the survey believe that on-line relationships could not be cheating when they on the other side believe that on-line-only relationships do not have the potential of emotional self-disclosure:

Cybersex or a long flirting with romantic letters seems to me as a free exercise. You can not cheat unless you are emotionally involved. (Žiga, 26)

No, as I already said for me this (online dating activities, note Žakelj) is not a way of establishing an intimate relationship and in this case it is not cheating, but it is the way you can cheat on your friend or your acquaintance. But this is not a love cheating or intimate cheating. (David, 39)

Some of the researches show that men are more affected in case of sexual infidelity, while women are more affected in case of emotional infidelity (Whitty, Quigley, 2008). One of the potential reasons is that men believe that women are in case of their sexual infidelity also in love while on the other side men's infidelity does not presuppose they are in love. Nena, a 36-year-old woman, mentioned her experience of an obliging man who fell in love with her on the net during the interview. She defined his emotional disclosure as cheating:

I had an experience that a person got attached to me and I had this feeling, especially when I found out that he is a married man and has two children, that in his head he had an affair with me. We didn't meet for real because I pressed hard on him when I found out. But he definitely was, somewhere in his head, in a love affair with me. And I think this definitely is cheating. (Nena, 36)

With the development of intimate relationships on-line, emotional cheating acquires new extensions. Personal (physical) contact loses its vital meaning, and that graduates to the point when even sexual cheating is not perceived as defeat if it does not contain emotional disclosure or intimacies. Definition of cheating of internet daters widens to the point that activities of searching for others or continuing contacts with people they had known before the existing relationship started means cheating:

It depends on a way of searching. Namely, if someone reveals herself to me really deeply, but in her mind she is the same to others, I consider it cheating and nothing else! (Ivan, 72)

Cheating is not only physical, it is also emotional, you abuse intimacy inside the partner relationship and you reveal things to other people or you disclose yourself to someone as deeply as to your partner. /.../ I also asked him a few times later and even before the wedding: »Are you sure you don't write to someone on the net?« He said: »Off course not, where would I find the time.«, so I completely trust him now, but I was worried, to me this is cheating. (Irena, 35)

The meaning of emotional defeat in this case could be overestimated while participants of the survey when talking about on-line-only contact mainly emphasise only this type of cheating. They rarely mentioned cyber sex or even hot talking. Other researches that concentrate on on-line affairs gave similar answers to the understanding of cheating. Emotional cheating can have the same meaning as sexual cheating (Whitty, 2005). Cheating on the base of on-line relationships is considered real cheating, which can have the same influence on existing relationship as off-line cheating. One of the reasons is the possibility of on-line-only relationship developing into an off-line affair, a further reason probably lies in the growing significance of emotional involvement.

DISCUSSION

Intimacy is no longer taken for granted, instead it has to be »communicated and demonstrated verbally through emotional disclosure« (Duncan, Smith, 2006, 168). Because of the relevance of computer mediated communication for flexible emotional self-disclosure, establishment of intimate partnerships on the grounds of on-line contacts can no longer be overlooked. Internet dating influences changes in the construction of intimacies, where it can be achieved among people that have never seen and (possibly) have no personal data of individuals they share their intimate feelings, experiences, dreams, fears and hopes with. Because of the anonymity that lessens the feeling of vulnerability we can freely reveal

our deepest thoughts and feelings. Individuals often »describe computer mediated relationship as extremely intimate and as »authentic« as face-to-face relationships« (Merkle, Richardson, 2000, 191). The more internet daters are satisfied with on-line communications, the bigger is their desire to meet face-to-face. And at the cross point of on-line-only communication to face-to-face meetings of the potential intimate partner, the fall of intimacy is usually confronted as well. No longer anonymous, no longer safe in front of the computer, internet daters come across the demands of building the intimacy once again. While intimate communication is normative for on-line communications, norms regarding intimacy in face-to-face meetings are quite different – intimacy is supposed to be revealed slowly through development of partnership.

If we concentrate on advantages of internet dating through the lens of intimacies, beside easiness of emotional disclosure we have to stress two seemingly binary concepts: the possibility of self-reflexivity and the possibility of a rational choice among available individuals. Internet dating on the one hand allows the development of the reflexive self with constant questioning of who we are and what we want, which is the central point of creating a pure relationship which lasts only until it is satisfying for both partners (Giddens, 2000). On the other hand, the functioning of internet dating as a market of choice can also be regarded as an advantage of internet dating, where rational choice determines the search for our intimate partner. So the negative understanding of internet dating lies in the context of prevalence of rational choice (Bauman, 2003; Illouz, 2007; Illouz, Finkelmann, 2009) and »marketing of the self« and »buying the other« (Jagger, 1998; Smail, 2004; Paap, Raybeck, 2005; Whitty, 2007; Heino et al., 2010). With regards to the opinion of the interviewees, both characteristics present advantages over the usual ways of getting in touch with a potential intimate partner.

The understanding of intimacy and consequently the understanding of cheating is another aspect of influence of creating intimate partnerships with the help of internet dating. Perceptions of intimacies are highly differentiated with no difference regarding gender. Because of the potential of self-disclosure and emotional involvement through internet dating, disclosing intimacy gains its importance compared to physical (sexual) intimacy. The concept of intimacy broadens and deepens – by the stated importance of disclosing intimacy that influences the understanding of on-line emotional involvement without a face-to-face contact as cheating and by reducing the importance of physical intimacy when it has no character of emotional ties.

To conclude, there is no doubt internet dating has its influence on the concept of intimacy – to what extent in terms of off-line relationships should be questioned in further researches.

INTIMNOST V KONTEKSTU SPOZNAVANJA PREK SPLETA

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POVZETEK

Spoznavanje potencialnega partnerja/ke prek spleta kot način spoznavanja s svojimi posebnostmi v graditvi partnerskih odnosov, širi že tako širok in težko opredeljiv koncept intimnosti. Načini vzpostavljanja intimnih odnosov in pričakovanja glede tega, od koga se intimnost lahko pričakuje ali sprejme, so kulturno in zgodovinsko pogojeni. Nove tehnologije in z njimi računalniško posredovana komunikacija ponujajo vse bolj sprejet način spoznavanja potencialnega partnerja/ke prek spleta, ki dopolnjuje klasične načine spoznavanja na raznih prireditvah, na delovnih mestih, v prostočasnih dejavnostih, lokalih ipd. Spoznavanje prek spleta ne vpliva zgolj na prostor srečanja »sorodne duše«, temveč ima vpliv tudi na koncept vzpostavljanja intimnosti in njenega doživetja, definiranja, povezovanja s samo-refleksivnostjo in posledično tudi na percepcije konceptov, ki so tesno povezani s pojmovanjem intimnosti. Članek razkriva nekatere značilnosti pojmovanja intimnosti, na katere vpliva spoznavanje prek spleta, pri čemer bodo izpostavljeni naslednji vidiki: vzpostavljanje intimnosti v on-line komunikaciji, padec intimnosti ob prehodu na osebna srečanja v živo, pojmovanje intimnosti in varanja ter razumevanje spoznavanja prek spleta kot priložnost za samo-refleksijo ali racionalne izbire med ponujenimi možnostmi.

Raziskava, na kateri temelji članek, je del širše analize socioloških vidikov spoznavanja potencialnega partnerja/ke prek spleta. Sodi med kvalitativne raziskave in vključuje 66 polstrukturiranih poglobljenih intervjujev oseb (med njimi 34 moških in 32 žensk), ki imajo izkušnje s spoznavanjem partnerja/ke prek spleta. Zbrano gradivo je analizirano s kvalitativno analizo.

Rezultati analize kažejo, kako se že tako širok in težko ulovljiv pojem intimnosti, preoblikuje in širi skozi izkušnje spoznavanja prek spleta. Narava graditve intimnih partnerstev na podlagi tovrstnega spoznavanja na različne načine vpliva na koncept intimnosti, ki ga opredeljujejo lahkotnost doseganja intimnosti v on-line komunikacijah, značilen padec intimnosti ob prehodu na osebne stike v živo, pojmovanje interneta in širše spleta kot prostora za samo-refleksivnost, rast pomena razkrite intimnosti in posledično tudi razumevanje izključnih on-line odnosov, ki imajo značaj emocionalne vpletenosti kot varanja.

Ključne besede: spoznavanje prek spleta, intimnost, refleksivnost, emocionalna vpletenost, pojmovanje varanja

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Corinne Brenko-Alessandra Rigotti, Kristjan Knez,
Franco Degrassi, Paola Pizzamano, Silvano Sau:
GLI ULTIMI GIORNI DELLA SERENISSIMA IN ISTRIA.
L'INSURREZIONE POPOLARE DI ISOLA DEL 1797.
Isola, Edizioni «Il Mandracchio», 2010, 555 str.

Leta 2010 je Skupnost Italijanov »Pasquale Besenghi degli Ughi« iz Izole izdala obsežen zbornik več avtorjev z naslovom »Gli ultimi giorni della Serenissima in Istria. L'insurrezione popolare di Isola del 1797«.

Kot pove že naslov, osvetljuje delo zadnje obdobje Beneške republike v Istri oziroma upor izolskega meščanstva ob njenem padcu, ki je ob izgredih in ropanju privedel tudi do uboja zadnjega beneškega podestata Nicolòja Pizzamana.

Obsežno delo z daljšim uvodom Silvana Saua, ki skuša tragične dogodke v prvih dneh junija 1797 umestiti v širši kontekst tedanjega dogajanja, hkrati pa dati iztočnico ostalim poglavjem, kljub njihovi raznolikosti sestavlja zaokroženo celoto, v kateri lahko sledimo dogajanju v Istri in širšem jadranskem prostoru ob izteku 500-letne vladavine Serenissime oziroma v času napoleonske kampanje v severni Italiji, ki se je zaključila s campoformijskim mirom oktobra 1797.

V prvem poglavju tako Corinne Brenko in Alessandra Rigotti obravnavata Napoleonovo kampanjo v severni Italiji v letu 1796/97 in propad Beneške republike, v nekoliko obširnejšem drugem poglavju pa Kristjan Knez osvetljuje kratko, a zelo pomembno in razgibano dogajanje na tleh propadle republike od sredine maja pa do sklenitve campoformijskega miru 17. oktobra 1797. Gre za doslej malo poznano in raziskano epizodo iz beneško-istrske zgodovine na prehodu iz *ancien régime* do campoformijskega miru, ko pod vplivom francoskih postrevolucionarnih družbenih sprememb sledimo poskusom demokratizacije nekdanjih oblastnih struktur tako v samih Benetkah, kot na ozemlju *terraferme* in nekdanjih provinc Istre in Dalmacije.

V tretjem poglavju Franco Degrassi podrobneje obravnava ljudsko vstajo v Izoli in njene posledice, ki jo sicer postavlja v širši kontekst in časovni okvir 18. stoletja s podrobnejšim orisom izolske komune, njenega teritorija, prebivalstva, gospodarstva, cerkvenih in socialnih ustanov, zdravstva in šolstva.

Četrto poglavje je Paola Pizzamano posebej posvetila tako plemiški družini Pizzamano, kot tudi zadnjemu izolskemu podestatu Nicolòju Pizzamanu, v petem poglavju, ki ga je uredil Silvano Sau, pa so nanizani dokumenti in pričevanja o Izoli od leta 1253 pa do leta 1794 oziroma izumrtja ugledne družine Besenghi degli Ughi sredi 19. stoletja.

Tekstualni del dopolnjuje in popestri bogato ilustrirano gradivo, reprodukcije fotografij, zemljevidov, tiskov, naslovnih statotov, brošur in časopisov. Vsakemu poglavju sledi dodatek z bogatim izborom virov in literature, pri čemer je zlasti pomembna objava številnih še neobjavljenih virov in literature.

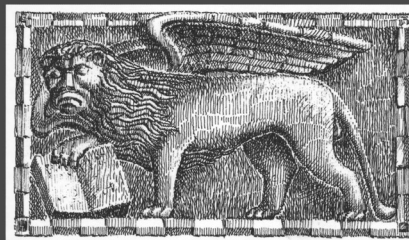
Izid tega obsežnega in vsebinsko zanimivega dela so finančno podprli: dežela Veneto, Italijanska samoupravna narodna skupnost, Občina Izola ter Ministrstvo za kulturo Republike Slovenije.

Iz vsebine posameznih poglavij nedvomno vejejo spoznanja, da se je leta 1797 pričnela nova epoha ne le v zgodovini Istre, temveč celotnega območja nekdanje Beneške republike. S propadom Serenissime so bile vse te dežele na tak ali drugačen način vpletene v vrtinec evropskega dogajanja, ki ga je sprožila že sama francoska revolucija 1789, kasneje pa zlasti Napoleonove vojne. Glede na razmere, ki so jih po eni strani v času od junija do oktobra 1797 pogojevali napor demokratične beneške vlade, da bi pri Napoleonu Bonapartu kot poveljniku francoske armade v Italiji in francoskem Direktoriju ter drugih evropskih državah vendarle dosegla povrnitev Istre in Dalmacije v svoj nekdanji državni okvir, po drugi strani pa upori v mestih in na podeželju, težnje mestnega plemstva po vključitvi

Corinne Brenko-Alessandra Rigotti,
Kristjan Knez, Franco Degrassi,
Paola Pizzamano, Silvano Sau

Gli ultimi giorni della Serenissima in Istria

L'insurrezione popolare di Isola del 1797



Edizioni "Il Mandracchio" Isola - 2010

bivše beneške Istre v okvir ogrskega kraljestva ter ne nazadnje nasilna prekinitev demokratizacije mestnih struktur v obeh provincah po avstrijski zasedbi 10. junija 1797 – kar je bila seveda posledica tajnih določil leobenskega premirja – se kaže vsa kompleksnost tedanje problematike, s tem pa se postavlja tudi temeljno vprašanje, kako z današnjega zornega kota leto 1797 kot enega najpomembnejših mejnikov v novejši zgodovini Istre in Dalmacije, zaznavata italijansko oziroma slovensko-hrvaško zgodovino. Po eni strani je namreč Istra s propadom Beneške republike leta 1797 prišla iz okvira dokaj anahronističnega državnega sistema, ki je na začetku industrijske dobe in velikih reformnih gibanj 18. stoletja kazal le malo prilagodljivih sposobnosti za nove produkcijske odnose in hitrejši družbeno-politični razvoj, po drugi strani pa je šele njen prehod v večje državne tvorbe omogočil njeno teritorialno povezovanje, bodisi s Trstom kot tudi z nekdanjo Pazinsko grofijo. Gre torej za sklop vprašanj, ki so povezana z njeno etnično oziroma demografsko podobo, geostrateško umeščenostjo v širši severnojadranski prostor in prvimi procesi nacionalne prebuje njenega etnično mešanega prebivalstva.

Čeprav se pričujoče delo omejuje predvsem na prelomno obdobje 1797/98, ki zlasti v kontekstu dogajanja v širšem evropskem prostoru predstavlja izhodišče kasnejših političnih, upravnih in družbenih sprememb na območju vzhodnega Jadrana, predstavlja pomemben prispevek v obravnavi istrske problematike na prehodu med 18. in 19. stoletjem, ki je bila v teh letih tudi sicer deležna posebne pozornosti ob 200-letnici priključitve Istre in Dalmacije v okvir Italijanskega kraljestva (1806–1809) oziroma Ilirskih provinc (1809–1813).

Salvator Žitko

CESARSKO-KRALJEVO MOŽKO UČITELJIŠČE V KOPRU 1875–1909: SLOVENSKI ODDELEK.

Koper, Pokrajinski arhiv Koper, 2010, 247 str.

Decembra 2010 je Pokrajinski arhiv Koper v sodelovanju s Slavističnim društvom Koper izdal zbornik z naslovom *Cesarsko-kraljevo možko učiteljišče v Kopru 1875–1909: Slovenski oddelek*. Zbornik s sestavki 15 avtorjev sta uredili Mirjana Kontestabile Rovis in Jasna Čebtron, oblikovanje in prelom je prispeval Aleš Sedmak.

Delo sestavljajo štirje vsebinski sklopi. Prvi zajema predgovore Vesne Mikolič, Milana Rakovca, Boštjana Debelaka, Senije Smailagič in Jasne Čebtron, obsežnejše uvodnike pa so pripravile Mirjana Kontestabile Rovis, Denis Kocjančič, Maja Tripar, Liljana Bojanič, Melanija Kerševan, Luisa Antoni, Marija Gombač in Jasna Čebtron. Tretji je tematski sklop o profesorjih učiteljišča s prispevki Ines Cergol, Rožane Koštial, Martine Rodela

ter treh hrvaških avtoric, četrti pa o dijakih s prispevki Valentine Parovel, Maje Smotlak, Franca Černigoja, Vesne Stibilj in Alferije Bržan.

Tekst dopolnjujejo številni arhivski dokumenti, zlasti reprodukcije spričeval, predmetnikov, redovalnic, naslovnic knjižnih del, odlikovanj, pisem, pa tudi fotografij učiteljev in dijakov, ter grafikoni.

Po monografiji Srečka Vilharja Slovensko učiteljišče v Kopru 1875–1909, ki jo je leta 1976 izdala Založba Lipa Koper, in prispevku Boža Jakovljevića, Učiteljska škola u Kopru i školovanje hrvatskih učitelja v reviji Annales (1996), gre za prvi obširnejši in tehtnejši prispevek o tej nadvse pomembni šolski ustanovi Avstrijskega primorja, ki je v 34 letih svojega delovanja dala prek 400 slovenskih in hrvaških izobražencev ter narodnih buditeljev, hkrati pa je za tedanje čase vzpostavljala enakovredna razmerja med uradnim nemškim jezikom in jeziki okolja, se pravi italijanščino, slovenščino in hrvaščino. S tem je nedvomno dokazovala, da je bilo že tedaj možno sobivanje različnih etničnih skupnosti in različnih jezikov ter kultur pod isto streho, kot v svojem uvodnem sestavku ugotavlja Vesna Mikolič, dekanja Fakultete za humanistične študije Koper UP.

Prav gotovo je ena od odlik pričujočega dela ta, da je zasnovano v obliki zbornika, kar je omogočilo interdisciplinarni pristop, ki je prispeval k pestrosti in raznolikosti tem, ne da bi zbornik pri tem izgubil na svoji zaokroženosti in vsebinski povezanosti. V veliki meri je plod raziskovalnega dela številnih že uveljavljenih avtorjev (pretežno avtoric) s področja humanističnih strok, pa tudi nekaterih mlajših iz študentskih in dijaških vrst, nastalih v šolskem letu 2007/08 na Gimnaziji Koper in v študijskem letu 2008/09 na Oddelku za slovenistiko Fakultete za humanistične študije Koper Univerze na Primorskem.

Med uvodniki tako najprej sledimo zgodovinskemu orisu Mirjane Kontestabile Rovis o šolstvu v Istri, posebej pa o nastanku c.-k. moškega učiteljišča v Kopru ter o številčnem stanju in socialnem statusu dijakov v slovenskih, hrvaških in italijanskih oddelkih. Slovenski oddelek učiteljišča sta v svoji raziskavi posebej osvetlili Denis Kocjančič in Maja Tripar, medtem ko sta Liljana Bojanič in Melanija Kerševan obdelali likovno dejavnost koprskih učiteljiščnikov oziroma lik profesorja Saše Šantla, uglednega slikarja in skladatelja, suplenta na koprskem učiteljišču v šolskem letu 1906/07. Luisa Antoni in Marija Gombač sta razgrnili glasbeno dejavnost učiteljiščnikov, še posebej pa Srečka Kumarja, enega glavnih organizatorjev, glasbenih učiteljev in primorskih zborovodij. Tematski sklop zaključuje Jasna Čebtron s pregledom literarnega delovanja maturantov koprškega učiteljišča, tako pripovednikov kot pesnikov, med katerimi naletimo na tako ugledna imena, kot so Jože Pahor, Josip Ribičič in Karel Širok.

Med profesorji učiteljišča je Ines Cergol izpostavila lik hrvaškega književnika Vladimirja Nazora oziroma

njegovo dvoletno službovanje na koprskem učiteljskišču, ki je pomembno zaznamovalo njegovo literarno delovanje. Čeprav se koprsko obdobje, kot navaja avtorica, ne uvršča med plodnejša ustvarjalna obdobja Nazorjevega življenja, vsaj glede kvantitete, pa bo ostalo zaradi dejstva, da je bil *Veli Jože* zasnovan in napisan v Kopru, eno ključnih mest v celotnem umetnikovem ustvarjalnem snovanju.

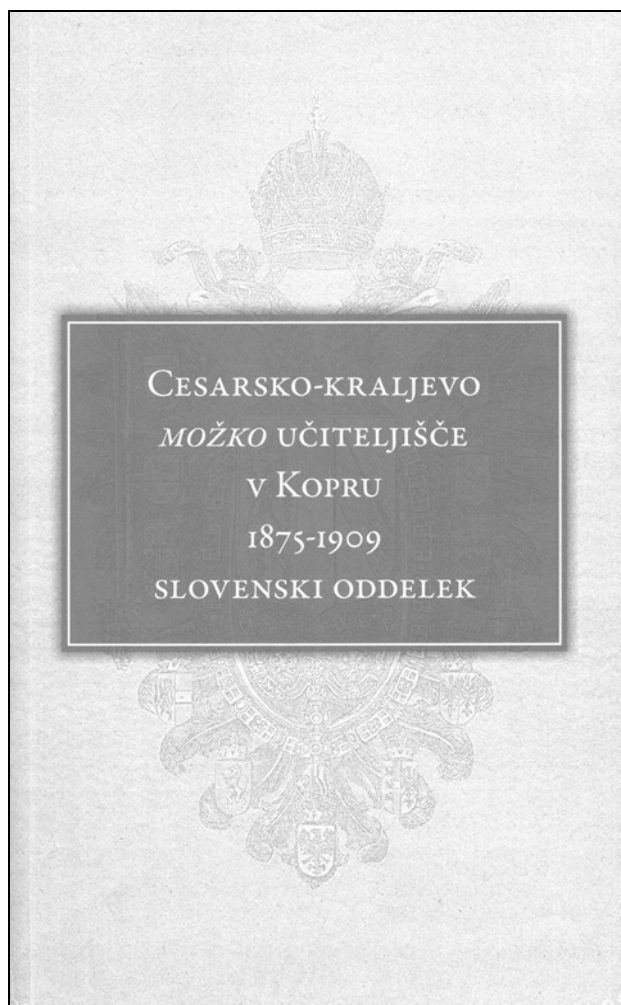
Nič manj pomembna nista prispevka o življenju in delu jezikoslovca Ivana Koštiala, ki sta ju pripravili Rožana Koštial in Martina Rodela. Ravno Koštialovo sedemletno koprsko obdobje (1902–1909) je bilo namreč zelo ustvarjalno in plodno, saj se je med drugim posvečal raziskavam glagoljastva. Iz doslej skromnih in razpršenih podatkov v njegovi zapuščini je po zaslugi obeh avtoric nastal dragocen in pregleden oris njegove vsestranske ustvarjalnosti in raziskovalne vneme na širokem področju od slovanskega jezikoslovja do literarnozgodovinskih tem. Prvikrat je zbrana in objavljena tudi njegova doslej dostopna in obdelana bibliografija, ki prav gotovo kliče k nadaljnjim raziskavam njegovega vsestranskega in izjemno plodnega dela.

V zadnjem sestavku treh hrvaških avtoric izstopa lik profesorja fizike in matematike Josipa Belušića, enega velikih izumiteljskih umov, ki je med drugim izumil velocimeter in se s tem častno zapisal na strani svetovne tehnične dediščine.

O nekaterih vidnejših dijakih učiteljsišča je spregovorilo pet avtorjev oziroma avtoric: Valentina Parovel o primorskem obdobju Josipa Ribičiča, mladinskega pisatelja, učitelja in kulturnega delavca, ki je učiteljsišče obiskoval v letih 1905–1909, Maja Smotlak pa o Ferdu Kleinmayrju, primorskem pedagogu in kulturnem delavcu, ki se je udeleževal na literarnem, publicističnem, didaktičnem in jezikoslovnem področju. Franc Černigoj je predstavil učitelja Edmunda Čibeja, Vesna Stibilj učitelja Antona Možina in Alferija Bržan učitelja in narodnega buditelja Josipa Valentiča.

S petnajstimi članki je torej v zborniku, kot poudarjata urednici, predstavljena zgodovinska umeščenost koprskega učiteljsišča in monografsko razčlenjeno delo nekaterih profesorjev in dijakov, predvsem iz slovenskega oddelka. Pri opredelitvi namena te publikacije poudarjata, da bi morala biti v ponos Kopru in slovenskemu šolstvu, vendar ostajata neznana obema okoljema, kar še dodatno vzpodbuja k nadaljnjim raziskavam te problematike v okviru univerz v Gorici, Trstu, Kopru in na Reki, da bi s komparativnimi študijami razkrili kulturnozgodovinski pomen te šole, ki je pred več kot sto leti že uresničevala spoštljivo strpnost in odprtost med različnimi kulturami in jeziki tedanjega Avstrijskega primorja. Ravno to dejstvo pa postavlja pod vprašaj stališča oziroma prizadevanja tedanjega Političnega društva Edinost v Trstu pa tudi širšega slovensko-hrvaškega tabora, da bi se slovenski in hrvaški oddelek učiteljsišča preselila v Gorico, oziroma v Kastav, do česar

je dejansko prišlo leta 1906 oziroma 1909. Če je trojezično učiteljsišče sorazmerno kmalu postalo tarča istrskega deželnega zbora, ki je hotel doseči, da bi vsi Italijani v Avstrijskem primorju nastopili enotno in si izbrili takšno učiteljsišče, na katerem bi potekal pouk le v deželnem jeziku – po mnenju deželnozborske večine je bil to seveda italijanski jezik – nemščina pa bi bila zgolj obvezni predmet, je težje razumljivo stališče slovensko-hrvaškega tabora, da v težnjah in vztrajnih naporih avstrijske vlade in c.-k. namestništva v Trstu, da učiteljsišče ostane v Kopru, ni zaznal vsestranske koristi tovrstne ustanove za svoj bodoči narodnostni razvoj. Kakor je bilo voditeljem slovensko-hrvaškega političnega tabora ter poslanski manjšini v deželnem zboru jasno, da je vprašanje učnega jezika v šolah eno temeljnih vprašanj, saj je bila od tega v veliki meri odvisna narodova prihodnost, je po drugi strani kontradiktorno, da so se tako vneto borili za premestitev učiteljsišča iz Kopra, saj je s preselitvijo slovenskega oddelka v Gorico in hrvaškega v Kastav, v Istri tja do I. svetovne vojne nastala precejšnja praznina na šolskem področju.



Zbornik torej zlasti s pregledi vsestranske dejavnosti primorskih učiteljev, njihove usposobljenosti in strokovnosti, pa tudi s poudarkom kulturnozgodovinskega pomena te ustanove v tedanjem specifičnem prostoru Avstrijskega primorja oziroma samega Kopra, temeljno vprašanje in dilemo, dosedanje videnje in ocenjevanje našega nacionalnega boja oziroma nacionalnih antagonizmov na prelomu 19. in 20. stoletja, v marsičem izpostavlja kritičnejši oceni. Hkrati s tem pa odpira nove možnosti raziskav, ocen in spoznanj o tej prelomni dobi naše polpretekle zgodovine.

Salvator Žitko

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović: SPEKTAKLI XX VEKA:
MUZIKA I MOĆ.

Beograd, Etnografski institut Srpske akademije nauke i
umetnosti, 2010, 313 str.

Zdi se, da so družbe s konca 20. in z začetka 21. stoletja vzele znamenito knjigo francoskega teoretika spektakla, ki je leta 1967 zatresel svetovno znanstveno jav-

nost s knjigo *La société du spectacle* [Družba spektakla] zelo zares, saj so se v zadnjih desetletjih tako rekoč docela preobrazile v model družbenega življenja, v katerem spektakel ni več le surogat realnosti ali psevdo-realnost, torej njena maska ali površina, pač pa realnost sama kot taka. To spoznanje nas je zastrašujoče približalo debordovski abstrahirani viziji sodobne kapitalistične družbe kot onniprezentnega, vseobsegajočega spektakla. Dandanes je spektakel postal tako pogosta oznaka za različne medijsko skonstruirane družbene fenomene, da smo se že prenehali spraševati, kaj spektakel sploh je.

Knjiga srbske antropologinje in etnologinje Miroslave Lukić Krstanović *Spektakli XX veka: Muzika i moć* [Spektakli 20. stoletja: Glasba in moč], izdana leta 2010 v okviru Etnografskega inštituta Srbske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, je delo, ki nas ponovno privede v polje pertinentnega razumevanja spektakla. Delo je antropološka študija zgodovinskega, družbenega, kulturnega in ideološkega konteksta konstituiranja (glasbenega) spektakla na domačem jugoslovanskem in srbskem terenu, pri čemer njen interpretacijski domet doseže zavidljive transnacionalne ugotovitve, ki jih je mogoče prevesti v polje refleksije in analize spektakla povsod. Avtorica v polje teoretizacije spektakla pritegne številne relevantne teorije, od katerih zlasti izpostavi Guyja Deborda in njegovo situacionistično interpretacijo družbe spektakla, Dona Handelmana in njegovo antropologijo javnih dogodkov, Michela Foucaulta in njegovo teorijo oblasti, Douglasa Kellnerja in njegovo teorijo medijskega megaspektakla, Jacquesa Attalija in njegovo konceptualizacijo ekonomije glasbe, Jeana Duvignauda in njegovo razumevanje spektakla skozi sociološko prizmo teatrologizirane predstave življenja, Jeana Baudrillarda in njegovo sopostavitve spektakla raznim virtualnim zabavam, transparentnim medijskim ritualom in družbi ceremonializirane simulacije, Victorja Turnerja in njegovo antropologijo rituala, Richarda Schechnerja in njegovo antropologijo performansa, Muraya Edelmana in njegovo dekonstrukcijo političnega spektakla, Jelene Djordjević in njeno analizo političnih ritualov in praznikov ter številne druge teoretske okvire. Pri tej barviti pahljači raznovrstnih teorij, ki jih avtorica involvira v razpravo o teoretski in analitični utemeljitvi spektakla, delo kombinira še druge historiografske, enciklopedične, arhivske in etnografske vire, od uporabe fotografske baze, tiskanih, avdio-vizualnih in elektronskih medijev, filmov, internetnih portalov, poglobljenih intervjujev in terenskih ustnih naracij do pritegnitve administrativnih oziroma birokratskih regulativnih diskurzov v monografsko razpravo, katere kazalo se členi v tri tematske sklope, naslovljene »Teorija spektakla«, »Zgodovinski markerji spektakla« in »Spektakli socializma: glasba in moč«.

V prvem tematskem sklopu avtorica obravnava probleme etimološke in morfološke opredelitve spektakla ter njegovo akademsko skonstruiranost skozi tri



aspekte manifestacije družbe, skozi birokratsko družbo (birokratski dizajn oziroma administrativna narava spektakla kot akademsko ne dovolj reflektirano območje), družbo medijev (mediji in informacijsko-komunikacijska kultura kot pospeševalca spektakelske funkcije družbe, v kateri je spektakel blago množične konsumpcije) in družbo množice (množičnost kot reprezentativna ideološka scenerija, ki legitimira spektakelsko formo dogodkov). V drugem delu tega sklopa avtorica poda antropološko konceptualizacijo spektakla, pri čemer ponudi pregled temeljnih pojmov, njihovih opredelitev in razmejitev v relaciji do rituala, praznika, dogodka, karnevala in festivala, v tretjem delu pa specifičira semantiko glasbenega spektakla, ki ji služi kot odskočna deska za njeno konkretno študijo primera v zadnjem delu knjige.

Avtorici uvodno morfološko branje spektakla jo pripelje do uvida v izrazito fluidno skonstruiran značaj tega fenomena. Pravi, da se s pojmom *spektakel* pogosto misli na izpostavitve »slike, zvoka, svetlobe, veličine in dinamike« (str. 15), kar deloma ustreza leksikografski definiciji izraza, ki izvira iz latinskega *spectaculum* (str. 15–16), kar pomeni pogled, prizor, predstava, dogodek, ki zaradi svoje nenavadnosti, zanimivosti, slikovitosti ali pompoznosti vzbuja množično pozornost. Toda če to grobo leksikografsko definicijo nekoliko obložimo z bolj preciznim analitičnim antropološkim in sociološkim slovarjem, kakor to stori avtorica, potem sledi, da je spektakel predvsem »vizualno-scenska dinamika v območju hipertrofiranih simbolov« (str. 19). Ali povedano drugače, pri spektaklu gre za kompleksen družbeni pojav in specifično kulturno prakso, ki temelji na večplastnem prepletu vizualnih, scenskih in avditorskih registrov uprizarjanja družbene realnosti. Sledeč tej tristopenjski skonstruiranosti spektakla avtorica nadalje pokaže, da se spektakli praviloma koncipirajo v treh sektorjih, in sicer v sektorju organizacije (kamor avtorica uvršča administracijo, birokracijo, logistiko, politiko in ekonomiko spektakla), sektorju scene (kjer najdemo produkcijo, gledališkost, estetiko, poetiko, ikonografijo in ceremonializacijske elemente spektakla) in sektorju občinstva oziroma avditorija (kamor sodijo gledanje, recepcija, interpretacija in potrošnja oziroma konzumiranje spektakla). Tovrstna analitična razširitev razumevanja spektakla avtorici nadalje omogoča, da na podlagi Geertzovega distinktivnega modela, v katerem je *model nečesa* razločen od *modela za nekaj* (str. 19), pokaže na naravo spektakla kot označenega (raven označenca) in označujočega (raven označevalca) modela. Miroslava Lukić Krstanović s pomočjo te distinkcije ne ostane le na ravni interpretacije spektakla, kjer bi pokazala, kako so spektakli »odsev družbenih procesov in sprememb«, torej posledica delovanja družb, pač pa gre korak dlje in pokaže na njegovo aktivno funkcijo v družbi, kjer so spektakli »motorji«, ki družbene procese poganjajo, jih kreirajo in povzročajo.

Vsa ta leksikografska, semantična, morfološka in konceptualna telovadba, ki jo Miroslava Lukić Krsta-

novič suvereno izvaja v polju uvodne teoretizacije spektakla, predstavlja avtoričin »epistemološki spektakel«, potreben za vstop v program antropološke discipline, kjer je, kakor pravi avtorica, »spektaklu tudi mesto – to je na reprezentativni sceni javnih vsakdanjosti« (str. 40). Spektakel se danes sooča s posebnimi kategorijami »totalne komunikacije« (kibernetki prostor, svetovni splet, virtualna realnost), scenske tehnologije, diverzifikacije občinstva, hiperprodukcije umetnostnih žanrov in drugo. Dejstvo, da si danes spektakla ne moremo predstavljati brez tehnologije, ideoloških formacij, estetskih form, družbeno-ekonomskih okoliščin in tržnih trendov, avtorici služi kot dodaten izziv, da v polje razprave pritegne antropologijo. Tu najprej izhaja iz performativnega značaja spektakla, ki ga podpre z antropologijo gledališča in spektakla Williama O. Beemana, antropologijo javnih dogodkov Dona Handelmana ter analizo kulturnih performansov Victorja Turnerja in Richarda Schechnerja. Antropološko dejstvo, da se »kultura ves čas izvaja« v družbi (str. 40–41), avtorici služi kot referencialna matrica, na katero projicira antropološka spoznanja o ritualih, praznikih in dogodkih kot treh sorodnih modelih spektakla. V tem delu študija tako odgovori na vprašanje, kaj pomembnega nas lahko rituali, prazniki in javni dogodki naučijo, da bi lažje in bolje razumeli spektakel. Odgovor je jassen: naučijo nas lahko tega, da bolje razumemo kolektivno zamišljanje in okvire zbiranja, spoznavanja, srečevanja, prikazovanja, identificiranja in razlikovanja v različnih kulturah in družbah, pri čemer avtorica ne pozabi zlasti izpostaviti pomena komunikacijskega aspekta, ki vzajemno determinira vse te procese (str. 45). Iz primerjave med spektaklom in ritualom, praznikom ter dogodkom avtorica ugotavlja, da spektakel omenjene tri pojave, ki jim doda še ceremonijo, karneval in festival, nadgradi, in sicer (1) z napadom na čutila s pomočjo hipertrofiranih podob in simbolov, ki omogočajo »beg iz realnosti« v svet neposrednega zadovoljstva, in (2) z delitvijo vloge med nastopajočimi in publiko (str. 43–57). Spektakel je torej variabilna družbena kategorija, ki mu je potrebna komplementarnost treh pojavov, in sicer rituala ali ceremoniala, praznika ali festivala in dogodka, da lahko razvije svojo slojevitost vizualnega, scenskega in avditorskega registra produciranja, reproduciranja in uprizarjanja družbene realnosti. S to nadgradnjo spektakel uprizori napad na človeška čutila s pomočjo hipertrofiranih podob, naziranj in simbolov, zaradi česar užitek ni vezan na redno zadovoljitev umetniških, glasbenih, športnih, političnih ali kakih drugih simbolnih potreb, pač pa je sam redek trenutek spektakla tudi že trenutek zadovoljitve.

Nato avtorica preide od spektakla kot *genus proximuma* za vrsto dogodkov, ki imajo vizualno-scensko podlago, k njegovi specialnejši manifestaciji, katere *diferencia specifica* temelji na izkustvenem opazovanju oziroma doživetju spektakla glasbe, za razumevanje

katerega je potrebno imeti pred očmi sliko celotnega komunikacijskega razmerja, od pošiljalca, sporočila do prejemnika (str. 64). Tu je glasbeni spektakel obravnavan na več nivojih, od tehnološkega, mitološkega, ritualnega, estetskega, ideološkega, emblematičnega, identitetnega do recepcijskega oziroma blagovnega, pri čemer avtorica v obravnavo pritegne teoretski pogled strukturalističnih teorij in študij popularne kulture: teorijo popularne kulture (Fiske), kritiko kulturne industrije (Adorno), teorijo mitov in ritualov (Lévi-Strauss in Leach), estetiko kot odprto delo (Eco), koncept ekonomije glasbe (Attali), teorijo okusa (Bourdieu), teorijo stila in žanrov (Hebdige in Žikić). S pomočjo omenjenih teoretskih zastavkov Miroslava Lukić Krstanović glasbeni spektakel problematizira kot večslojno sliko, na kateri se izrisujejo prizori estetskih in etičnih normativov, blagovnih ceremonializacij, ideoloških strategij in emblematičnih gest družbene moči.

V drugem tematskem sklopu z naslovom »Zgodovinski markerji spektakla« se avtorica posveti zgodovinski konstituciji spektakla in njegovim razvojnim manifestacijam. S tem pokaže, da spektakli niso nekaj, kar bi poznale samo sodobne družbe. Nasprotno, poznajo jih tako rekoč vse družbe in skupnosti v vseh zgodovinskih obdobjih, s čimer Miroslava Lukić Krstanović pomembno nakaže, da je spektakel inherenten spremljevalec človeških družb. Ali povedano drugače, človek je spektakelsko družbeno bitje. Avtorica debato o evoluciji spektakla začne z elementi »praspetakla« oziroma prvobitnimi elementi spektakla, ki so bili značilni za ritualne prakse antične Grčije in Rima. Klasična Grčija je imela svoje olimpijske igre, gledališke festivale, mestne dionizije, javne retorične spopade ter krvave in nasilne vojne. Stari Rim je poznal spektakularne orgije, gladiatorske igre, cesarske parade in druge spomenike starorimskega pompa in ekstravagance. Tudi srednji vek je imel pomembne trenutke spektakla, in to v obliki javnega kaznovanja in mučenja, kalvarij, religioznih procesij, ekscentričnih sežigih na grmadah in srednjeveškega *theatrum*. Avtorica se posveti zlasti slednjemu, saj meni, da je prehod od antičnega ritualnega k srednjeveškemu liturgičnemu gledališču razvojna poti, ki vodi od ritualnih *festus* in *festivitas* k scenskemu spektaklu (str. 82–85). Čas renesanse in baroka je čas nove senzibilnosti za spektakel, ki se realizira v takšnih manifestacijah, kakor so javne razstave kipov in slik, rokojska omedlevarja, baročno obilje in druge oblike spektaklov novoveškega absolutizma in zgodnje moderne popularne kulture po Petru Burku, med katerimi opera zasluži prestižen status dvornega spektakla monarhične oblasti. Avtorica se sicer vsem tem oblikam novoveškega spektakla ne posveti, opozori pa na prelomen trenutek, ki ga je imelo renesančno in baročno razumevanje gledališča za kasnejši razvoj multimedijskega spektakla. Z romantiko pridejo namreč v ospredje nove oblike spektaklov totalitarnih kultur in nacionalnih

ideologij, med katere sodijo ceremonializacije državnosti, vojaške parade, koncentracijska taborišča, ikonizacija diktatorjev in nastanek filma, ki v začetku 20. stoletja romantične in postromantične multimedijske scenske spektakle pretvori v ekran. Dvajseto stoletje avtorica opredeli kar kot *stoletje spektakla* (str. 89), za katerega je značilna modernistična in postmodernistična fuzija medijskih, športnih, glasbenih, uprizoritvenih, arhitekturnih, političnih, industrijskih, potrošniških in fetišističnih spektaklov, ki se iz vizualnih, medijskih, scenskih in avditorijskih aspektov preobražajo v globalne megaspektakle, ki po Douglasu Kellnerju (2003) postanejo določujoči dogodki posamezne epohe.

Skratka, skozi zgodovino družb so spektakli bili v različnih funkcijah, ki pa jih avtorica smiselno razdeli na tri skupine: 1) spektakli, ki ustvarjajo družbeni red oziroma sistem; 2) spektakli, ki reflektirajo oziroma osmišljajo družbeni red oziroma sistem; 3) spektakli, ki so inverzija ali kontrast obstoječemu družbenemu redu ali sistemu. Slednje avtorica poveže zlasti z glasbenimi manifestacijami 20. stoletja, ki so izpostavile vprašanje družbene avtonomije umetnika, kakor je to bilo denimo v primeru pojava rokenrola in kasnejšega vzpona megalomanske rock kulture v desetletjih po 2. svetovni vojni. Avtorica tako razvojne forme glasbenega spektakla obravnava skozi analizo raznih festivalov, rock koncertov, opere, musicala in revij (str. 90–97).

Na koncu drugega tematskega sklopa se avtorica posveti še analizi časa, ki ima po njenem zelo pomembno funkcijo pri percepciji in recepciji spektakla. Tako razlikuje tri vrste časa: zgodovinski čas, za katerega je značilna cikličnost in linearnost; družbeni čas, ki uteleša koledarski skupek periodičnega in cikličnega zbiranja in organiziranja ljudi; in simbolni čas, ki predstavlja kvantiteto in semantiko vtisov in doživetij (str. 98–100). Ta troslojna temporalna matrica spektakla denimo v primeru koncerta, festivala ali drugovrstnega glasbenega dogodka dobi ritualne (raven produkcije in predmeta), praznične (raven percepcije in podobe) in dogodkovne dimenzije (raven recepcije in teksta). Ritualnost glasbenega spektakla je skoncentrirana na produkcijo, ki vključuje sistem pravil in tehnik glasbenega izražanja. Glasbena izkušnja se preobrazi v vtis in čutno podobo, ki na ravni percepcije nosi elemente zamišljene enotnosti, tj. prazničnost spektakla, dogodkovnost spektakla pa se materializira v zgodbah, naracijah oziroma tekstih, ki olajšajo pot k recepciji spektakla. Na tej točki spektakel prehaja iz zgodovinskega in družbenega časa v simbolni čas, kjer dominira polje doživetij, vtisov in izkušenj. Skratka, spektakel se oblikuje v kompleksnem mehanizmu interakcij, ki so po svoji komunikacijski matrici tako ritualne, praznične kakor tudi dogodkovne, po temporalni dinamiki pa zgodovinske (epohalno oziroma koledarsko določene), družbene (situacijsko oziroma skupnostno določene) in simbolne (doživljajsko oziroma izkustveno določene).

Tretji, najobsežnejši tematski sklop z naslovom »Spektakli socializma: glasba in moč«, je posvečen glasbenim spektaklom na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije v dobi socializma. Predmet analize so javne politične in glasbene scene, množična zborovanja, koncerti, festivali, parade in glasbeni dogodki popularne kulture. Avtorica omenjene prireditve predstavi tako, da jih konceptualno razdeli na tri skupine spektaklov: (1) politični spektakli, v okviru katerih preučuje vlogo javnih ritualov v politiki, politična zborovanja in vlogo glasbe v t. i. »svečanostih discipline«; (2) spektakli konvencije, kjer izpostavi pomen glasbe v območju državnega *establishmenta*, od glasbenega vsakdana, kulture pop šlagerjev do posebnih glasbenih scen (festivali, koncerti); (3) spektakli emancipacije, kjer obravnava rokenrol in rock kulturo. Avtorica v tem delu poantira, da so jugoslovanske vladajoče strukture redno uporabljale glasbeni spektakel v njegovih najrazličnejših manifestacijah za prikaz in uveljavljanje svoje družbene moči (str. 117).

Kot reprezentant spektakla discipline (str. 102–134) v času komunizma avtorica analizira praznik 25. maj, ki je tradicionalno potekal vsako leto v letih 1957–1987 prav na rojstni dan predsednika Josipa Broza Tita (str. 114). Praznik je postal znan pod imenom »Dan mladosti«, ko se je jugoslovanska mladina v paradnem množičnem čaščenju na stadionu poklonila predsedniku s spektakularno čestitko. Avtorica meni, da lahko imamo ta psevdoglasbeni praznik ne le za največji scenski ceremonial v času komunistične Jugoslavije, pač pa za spektakel, ki je bil neposredno podvržen režimski birokraciji in močni politični orkestraciji in administraciji. Njegov družbeni namen je bil jasen: spektakel uporabiti kot obliko političnega ceremoniala za dekorirano discipliniranje državljanov kot kolektiva oziroma množice. S pomočjo analize semantičnih kodov omenjenega spektakla, od organizacijskih, scenskih, participativnih do konzumentskih, je avtorica podčrtala vlogo glasbe, ki je bila v tem eminentnem političnem spektaklu jugoslovanskega režima docela harmonizirana s političnimi sporočili ceremoniala. Spektakel je glorificiral vodjo in potrjeval obstoječi družbeni red. Kot reprezentant spektakla konvencije (str. 135–184) v času socializma avtorica izpostavi številne glasbene scene, ki od šestdesetih let dalje dobijo status državnih glasbenih festivalov, kakor denimo festivali *Beograjska pomlad*, *Zagrebski festival*, *Splitski festival*, *Festival Ljubljana*, *Slovenska popevka*, *Festival Skopje* in drugi. Festivali so predstavljali metaforo jugoslovanske skupnosti, saj so komunicirali jugoslovansko ali republiško kohezijo na eni strani, na drugi pa upoštevali distinkcijo multietnične države. Avtorica pri tem ne pozabi omeniti, da je pomemben dejavnik v razvoju jugoslovanske popularne glasbe imela medijska industrija (radio in televizija, diskografija), ki je vplivala na transformacijo glasbene scene v medijski ekran (str. 154–155). Na primeru glavnih glasbenih festivalov in koncertov Miroslava Lukić

Krstanović skozi analizo njihovih organizacijskih, scenskih in avditorijskih registrov sugerira, da so omenjene glasbene manifestacije bile tudi v službi potrjevanja in utrjevanje državnega reda stvari. Glasba festivalov je bila zvočna naracija političnega sistema (str. 182–183). Kot reprezentant spektakla emancipacije (str. 184–256) avtorica obravnava rock koncerte, ki v poznem socializmu postanejo nosilci t. i. subkulture, v središče pa stopita rokenrol in rock glasba. Avtorica razvoj rokenrola in rock glasbe na domači jugoslovanski glasbeni sceni tretira kot specifičen subkulturni fenomen. Sprejemanje rokenrola in sorodnih subkulturnih glasbenih stilov je bil eden najvidnejših signalov odpiranja Jugoslavije proti Zahodu. V sedemdesetih letih je jugoslovanska rock scena bila že v polnem razcvetu, ki se je manifestiral na mladinskih festivalih in koncertih (*Gitarjade*, *Mladinski festival* v Subotici, *Boom festivali* v Srbiji, Sloveniji in na Hrvaškem). Organizacija festivalov rokenrola je šla v dve smeri, v smeri emancipatornih gest na eni strani kakor tudi v smeri potrjevanja *establishmenta* na drugi. Na simbolni ravni pa so prvi koncerti in festivali rokenrola bili zlasti združeni v konceptu upora mlade generacije zoper dominantno in konvencionalno mladinsko kulturo, ki jo je usmerjala komunistična partija (npr. akcije delavske mladine, mladinske organizacije v okviru partije ipd.). V osemdesetih letih rock kultura zapusti konvencionalne okvire festivalskega reda in se poda na pota mobilne koncertne izmenjave med Beogradom, Sarajevom, Zagrebom in Ljubljano. Toda z razpadom Jugoslavije pride tudi do razpada t. i. *Yu rock scene*. Razcvet jugoslovanskega rokenrola v podobi prvih rock skupin, festivalov, koncertov na prostem ipd. avtorica obravnava s pomočjo konceptov upora (*bunte*), hrupa ali glasnosti (*buke*), telesa in nove teatralnosti (str. 187–189), katere namen je v prvi fazi reflektirati obstoječi družbeni red in v drugi fazi koncipirati rock sceno kot element inverzije oziroma kontrasta obstoječemu družbenemu redu.

Na koncu tega obsežnega sklopa, ki opisuje jugoslovansko socialistično politično in glasbeno sceno, Miroslava Lukić Krstanović predstavi tri modele strateške vrednosti spektakla, ki omogočajo vpogled v njegovo empirično veljavo na eni strani in vpetost v kulturne in družbene obrazce na drugi strani. Spektakli discipline (primer komunističnih političnih zborovanj) predstavljajo model piramidalne hierarhije. Spektakli konvencije (primer državnih glasbenih festivalov) obelodanjajo frontalni model. Spektakli emancipacije (primer jugoslovanske rokenrol scene) razkrivajo interaktivni model (str. 258).

Avtorica pokaže, da je spektakel pertinentna tema akademske refleksije, ki pomaga razumeti konstitucijo in delovanje družb in kultur. V knjigi nam je spektakel predstavljen kot fenomen visoke družbene napetosti, ki se skozi kompleksno organizacijsko, administrativno, scensko, avditorijsko in konzumentsko konstrukcijo vse-

skozi teoretsko redefinira, zgodovinsko fluidno markira in z vidika etnografije tudi kulturno znova in znova reaktivira. Spektakel je svojo pomembno znanstveno obravnavo že našel v mnogih disciplinah, denimo v teatrologiji, sociologiji, muzikologiji, arhitekturi, scenografiji, scenski tehnologiji, zgodovini umetnosti, kulturnih in medijskih študijih, pričujoče delo pa ga postavlja kot osrednji predmet preučevanja še v polje antropologije. V antropološki perspektivi se spektakel kaže kot specifična javna kulturna praksa, ki skozi zgoščene družbene matrice in kulturne obrazce izkorišča moč hipertrofiranih podob, montiranih simbolov in njihovih ekraniziranih pomenov. Je vizualni prevodnik, ki, kakor avtorica zapiše na začetku knjige, prevaja izvajanje v gledanje, gledanje v nadgledanje, nadgledanje v administriranje in krog se sklene. Da bi razumeli to fluidno naravo konstitucije, reprezentacije, reprodukcije in manifestacije spektakla, razpršenega po zgodovini različnih družbenih fenomenov, situacij in doživetij, antropološki pristop Miroslave Lukić Krstanović pomembno prispeva k pertinentni refleksiji konceptualne koherence spektakla, s čimer izkristalizira nekatere njegove ključne podobe, funkcije in pomene. Delo priporočam vsakomur, ki se želi globlje in relevantno seznaniti s konceptom in fenomenom spektakla.

Vlado Kotnik

*Dragana Antonijević: OGLEDI IZ ANTROPOLOGIJE
I SEMIOTIKE FOLKLORA.*

Beograd, Srpski genealoški centar & Odeljenje
za etnologiju i antropologiju Filozofskog fakulteta,
2010, 257 str.

Ko pomislimo na folkloro, ta pojem še dandanes najprej in najraje povežemo z ruralnim, perifernim, nesofisticiranim, celo arhaičnim tipom kulture in modelom življenja. Tako ne manjka antropologov, sociologov in drugih specialistov s področja družbenih in humanističnih znanosti, ki gojijo določeno skepso ali vsaj zadržek do takšnih akademskih podjetij, kakršno je folkloristika oziroma narodopisje. Tradicionalna epistema folkloristike je namreč bila desetletja trdovratno ujeta v pozitivistično, esencialistično in avtohtonistično zanko popisovanja narodnega blaga, šeg, navad, običajev, legend, ustnega izročila in drugovrstnega ljudskega slovstva. Nekateri so folkloristom očitali, da svoje predmete preučevanja zgolj dokumentirajo, konstruirajo in opisujejo, ne pa tudi dekonstruirajo, reflektirajo in analizirajo, kar seveda ni bilo daleč od resnice. Enako se folkloristiki dolgo časa ni pripisovalo zmožnosti teoretizacije. Pogosto se je o njej govorilo kakor o akademski aplikaciji narodnjaštva, torej vrsti psevdoznanstvene ali celo antiznanstvene ideologije, ki svojemu disciplinarnemu

polju, nad katerim sta imeli monopol tradicionalna filologija in etnologija, ni zmožna zagotoviti lastne refleksivne epistemologije, analitičnega spoznavnega aparata in pertinentnega metodološkega instrumentarija. In v mnogih akademskih okoljih je folkloristika dejansko še zmeraj razumljena in prakticirana na ravni gole deskripcije in ideologije pozitivnih dejstev »ljudskega materialnega in duhovnega izročila«.

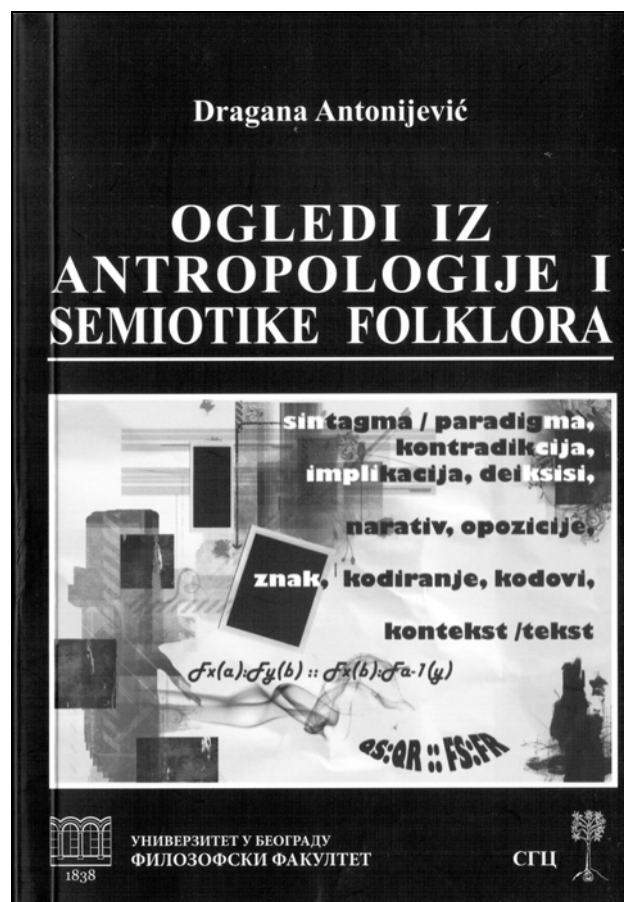
Knjiga srbske antropologinje Dragane Antonijević *Ogledi iz antropologije i semiotike folkloru [Spisi iz antropologije in semiotike folklore]*, izdana leta 2010 v okviru Srbskega genealoškega centra in Oddelka za etnologijo in antropologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Beogradu, je, upoštevajoč gornje pridržke, kritike in stereotipe okrog folklore, folklorizma in folkloristike, vsekakor delo, ki razblinja gornjo predstavo o folklori kot arhaičnem prežitku, predvsem pa suvereno in z metikulozno rigoroznostjo pokaže, kako je folklor lahko predmet resne teorije, metode in analitske perspektive. Delo je dejansko *metodološki spis*, v katerem avtorica utemeljuje svojo kritično pozicijo z naslonitvijo na številne teoretske-metodološke folkloristične analize, ki so sicer izbrane na podlagi avtoričine osebne afinitete, a hkrati zadovoljivo argumentirane ob dejstvu, da izhajajo iz različnih znanstvenih disciplin, iz katerih je folkloristika črpala svoj teoretski potencial in koncepte. Delo tako upošteva metodološke zakonitosti in teoretska spoznanja s področja antropologije in strukturalne antropologije, etnologije, semiotike, narativne teorije in sociologije. Avtorica vstopa v polje obravnave z multidisciplinarne, interdisciplinarne in transdisciplinarne perspektive na karakterizacijo folkloristike kot eklektične vede o folklori in pri tem ponudi nekaj metodoloških predlogov, ki prispevajo k pertinentnejši študiji in interpretaciji folklorne kot družbenega fenomena in sklopa specifičnih kulturnih praks.

Vsebinska knjige je strukturirana v štiri glavna oziroma nosilna problemska poglavja, ki se nadalje notranje členijo na podpoglavja. V prvem poglavju z naslovom »Socio-folkloristika: Teoretsko-metodološki koncepti Garyja Alana Finea« avtorica predstavi kritično študijo teoretsko-metodološkega pristopa omenjenega ameriškega folklorista in sociologa, ki si je prizadeval spremeniti folkloristično paradigmo v Združenih državah Amerike. Ko je Fine napisal članek »Tretja smer ameriške folkloristike: Ljudske naracije in družbene strukture« leta 1988, je imel prvenstveno v mislih metodološko otopelost in otrplost, pomanjkanje jasne linije in odsotnost konsenzualne identitete v sodobni ameriški folkloristični skupnosti. Zaradi tega je želel postreči z neko skupno metateoretično podlago, ki bi spremenila dotedanjo uveljavljeno znanstveno paradigmo v folkloristiki. Dragana Antonijević meni, da že sam izraz »tretja smer«, *the third force*, ki jo je uporabil Fine za opis paradigmatike spremembe v disciplini, napeljuje na to, da ameriški folkloristi niso bili nedovzetni za analitični fo-

kus in paradigmatško koherenco. Poleg tretje smeri je Fine opredelil tudi prvo in drugo smer. S prvo smerjo je meril na desetletja uveljavljeno prevlado komparativnih filoloških in zgodovinsko-geografskih pristopov k preučevanju folklorne kot narodopisno utemeljenega »ljudskega materialnega in duhovnega izročila. Prvi preobrat se je zgodil v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja s prodorom strukturalistične paradigme in komunikacijske teorije. Toda kljub pomembnemu vplivu, ki ga je imel strukturalizem v ameriški povojni folkloristiki, je Fine »drugo smer«, *the second force*, pripisal t. i. *performance theory*, teoriji performance, ki je postala slavna v sedemdesetih letih. Posledica vseh teh intelektualnih gibanj in premikov je bila, da se je prevladujoči statični, literarni pristop k folklori kot »ljudski duhovni in materialni kulturi« umaknil novemu, bolj dinamičnemu pristopu, ki se je osredotočil na folklorno komunikacijsko dejanje, kakor se pojavi v praksi, v performanci, v kontekstu, v slogu izvrševalca folklornih elementov. Kljub vplivnosti teorije performance v folkloristiki avtorica meni, da je teorija vendarle imela nekaj zaznavnih pomanjkljivosti, kakor denimo odsotnost diahrona oziroma zgodovinske perspektive, preveč drobnjakarsko deskripcijo in pomanjkanje razlagalne metode ter njene interpretacijske moči. Zaradi počasnosti inovativnih teoretskih in metodoloških posegov v polje folkloristike kot polje teorije je Fine predlagal razvoj folkloristike v smeri makrokontekstualne interpretacije folklorne z ozirom na družbene strukture in materialno družbeno konstitucijo. S tem naj bi se folklor preselila iz imaginarija pretekle lokalizirane narodopisne »materialne in duhovne kulture« v imaginarij globalne postindustrijske družbe poznega kapitalizma. Svoj teoretski in metodološki pristop je utemeljil v konceptu, imenovanem »folklorni diamant«, *folklore diamond*. Gre za večplasten teoretsko-metodološki okvir za preučevanje dinamike ustvarjanja in prenašanja pomenov sodobnih urbanih legend, pri čemer se upošteva štiri elemente, in sicer družbeno strukturo, osebne imperative, dinamiko performance in vsebino naracije (str. 39). Avtorica meni, da je Fine ključen teoretik za razumevanje *ustnega izročila* in *urbanih legend*, saj na kontekstualni ravni pokaže, kako je neka govorica ali legenda, ki se je prenašala od ust do ust, pridobila svoj pomen, funkcijo in vpliv na ravnanje ljudi, ki so jo reproducirali. Fineov folklorni diamant po avtoričinem prepričanju zagotavlja inovativen okvir za preučevanje raznovrstnih aspektov folklorne (str. 85–88). Kljub unikatnemu pomenu, ki ga pripiše ameriškemu folkloristu, avtorica provokativno sklene, da sta Fine in njegova teorija do nedavnega bila tako rekoč nepoznana srbski folkloristiki, antropologiji in etnologiji.

Drugo poglavje, naslovljeno »Od poetike žanra do strukture: Prispevek Nade Milošević - Đorđević k srbski strukturalni folkloristiki«, je posvečeno antropološkemu in strukturalističnemu aspektu literarno-teoretskih raziskav te znane srbske folkloristke, ki jo avtorica uvršča

med doajene sodobne srbske folkloristike (str. 18). Njeno delo je za avtorico zanimivo predvsem z vidika pionirske aplikacije metode Vladimirja Proppa (1895–1970) v srbsko folkloristiko. Nada Milošević - Đorđević je po avtoričini izjavi bila ključna in morda celo prva, ki je že v začetku šestdesetih let predstavila Proppovo teorijo srbski akademski sceni. To je bil namreč čas, ko sta srbska in jugoslovanska folkloristika bili še vedno globoko zakoreninjeni v tradicionalne spone literarno-filoloških in zgodovinsko-geografskih paradig in miselnih shem ter brez vidne intelektualne motivacije za modernizacijo. Domača folkloristika je bila docela v rokah filologov, ki so večji interes kazali za preučevanje del Vuka Karadžića kakor pa za tekoče žive folklorne tradicije in prakse. Prav spričo tega dejstva je zanimanje Nade Milošević - Đorđević za Proppovo in druge moderne metode inovativnost, ki je prehitela takratne srbske in jugoslovanske razmere na področju narodopisnega preučevanja »materialne in duhovne kulture«. Tako je Proppov morfološki pristop k raznim narativnim strukturam, kakor so pravljica, romantične zgodbe, sage, prerokovanja, religiozna pričevanja ipd., ne le adaptirala in aplicirala na svoje študije primerov, pač pa je ob tem razvila svoj lasten pristop, ki ga je uporabila na primeru analize strukture ustnega izročila in pripove-



dovanja o prerokovanih usode ob rojstvu otroka v Srbiji. Strukturalni pristop v srbski folkloristiki so kasneje nadgradili in modernizirali etnologi in antropologi, med njimi Ivan Kovačević, Miloš Milenković in avtorica pričujoče knjige. Slednja je denimo analitičen model, ki ga je razvila Nada Milošević - Đorđević, uspešno uporabila pri svojem delu in ga aplicirala na analizo strukture osebnih in družinskih zgodb o nacionalizaciji in tranziciji v postsocialistični Srbiji. Ko je avtorica tradicionalne folklorne narativne žanre, denimo zgodbe o usodi ali legende, s katerimi se je prvenstveno ukvarjala tudi Nada Milošević - Đorđević od šestdesetih let dalje, primerjala z novodobnimi zgodbami in pripovedmi o srbski postsocialistični transformaciji, je zanimivo ugotovila, da zgodbe o nacionalizaciji kot kapitalistični ureditvi Srbije vsebujejo vse elemente klasičnih zgodb o usodi. Enako je tudi v zgodbah o srbski tranziciji našla enak princip organizacije narativnih shem, kakor jih je mogoče najti pri legendah (str. 126–132).

V tretjem poglavju z naslovom »O strukturi vrednosti: Interpretacija metodološkega predloga Beverly Crane« avtorica obravnava neobičajen in zanimiv metodološki predlog omenjene ameriške psihologinje in folkloristke iz leta 1977. Njen eksperiment je vseboval inovativno zamisel, da združi strukturalizme antropologa Clauda Lévi-Straussa (1908–2009) in razvojnega kognitivnega psihologa Jeana Piageta. Cilj eksperimenta je bil ustvariti odprt strukturalni model, s pomočjo katerega pride do koncepcije *strukture vrednosti*. Toda čeprav sta tako Lévi-Strauss kakor Piaget oba bila sodobnika in strukturalista, sta njuna pristopa različna, zato je ideja Beverly Crane, da združi oba pristopa, za avtorico knjige vredna pozornosti in premisleka. Kot predmet svoje analize je izbrala zelo znano in priljubljeno urbano legendo »Sostanovalkina smrt« (str. 143–145), s pomočjo katere je želela pokazati, kako se lahko pride do vrednosti sporočila v besedilu skozi strukturalno perspektivo. Osnovno idejo o iskanju *neobičajnega v zgodbi kot adaptivnega problema*, ki jo v legendi o sostanovalkini smrti razvija Cranova, je avtorica pričujoče monografije sama uporabila denimo na primeru analize urbanih legend o kraji človeških organov v Srbiji. Čeprav je strukturalna, ali bolje strukturalno-funkcionalistična analiza, ki jo je razvila Cranova, v ameriški folkloristični skupnosti naletela na diskutabilen uspeh, avtorica z domiselnimi aplikacijami idej Cranove na svoje študije primerov recentnih srbskih urbanih legend pokaže na inovativnost in uporabnost samega pristopa kot takega kljub nekaterim njegovim metodološkim pomanjkljivostim. Avtorica ne pozabi omeniti, da je metodološki eksperiment Cranove ostal zanemarljiv znotraj ameriške folkloristike, docela nepoznan pa je ostal tudi za druge nacionalne tradicije, vključno s srbsko. To je tudi razlog, da se avtorica posveti kritični analizi metodološke in epistemološke vrednosti pristopa Beverly Crane in celo sama, navdahnjena

z njeno analizo legende o sostanovalkini smrti, v četrtem, zadnjem poglavju ponudi svojo strukturalno interpretacijo te ameriške urbane legende iz šestdesetih let.

Četrto poglavje, poimenovano »Semiotika urbane legende«, je torej namenjeno avtoričini analizi legende »Sostanovalkina smrt«, ki se razlikuje od analize, ki jo je podala Beverly Crane (str. 206–228). Na tem mestu ne moremo podati vsebinskega okvira obravnave te legende, zato velja le omeniti, da je *novum* avtoričinega eksperimenta metoda, ki jo je oblikovala na podlagi obsežne in kompleksne strukturalne semantike lingvista in semiotika Algirdasa Juliena Greimasa (1917–1992), do katerega goji močno osebno afiniteto. Avtorica ponovno kritično opozori na slabo poznavanje Greimasove semiotično-semantične teorije v srbski folkloristiki, etnologiji in antropologiji. To dejstvo je še toliko bolj presenetljivo, ugotavlja avtorica, saj Greimas spada med redke strukturaliste, ki se lahko pohvalijo s številnimi nasledniki in svojo lastno »šolo«, t. i. *pariško šolo semiotike*, in je razen Lévi-Straussa edini francoski semiotik in strukturalist, ki mu je nek ameriški znanstveni časopis, namreč *New Literary History*, posvetil celotno tematsko številko s prispevki uglednih avtorjev, kakor sta denimo Paul Ricœur in Umberto Eco. Greimas je z nasledniki razvil instruktivno semiotično metodo, ki omogoča preveritev in ponovitev. Z Greimasovo semiotiko avtorica pokaže, kako se lahko z uporabo strukturalne analize pride do inovativne in kvalitetne interpretacije neke folklorne naracije.

Celotno delo ima skupno metodološko in teoretsko izhodišče, to je strukturalizem, čeravno apliciran na različne načine in navdahnjen s strani različnih strukturalističnih mislecev, denimo Proppa, Lévi-Straussa, Piageta in Greimasa. Avtorica tako pokaže primer aplikacije strukturalne analize v srbsko folkloristiko s strani folkloristke in filologinje Nade Milošević - Đorđević, nadalje primer aplikacije strukturalizma s strani ameriške folkloristke in psihologinje Beverly Crane, in v zadnjem delu primer avtoričine lastne interpretacije legende o sostanovalkini smrti. Če obstaja kakšno disciplinarno polje, v katerem je strukturalizem našel najvidnejšo, najdoslednejšo, najizčrpnjšo obravnavo, potem je to polje nedvomno folkloristika. Razlog za pomemben položaj strukturalizma v folkloristiki leži v kolektivnih obrazcih, strukturah, znakovnosti in formativnosti folklornih žanrov. Avtorica tako pokaže na raznoliko perspektivnost strukturalne analize same kot take, še posebej pa na konkretnem disciplinarnem področju, to je v folkloristiki, kjer nam strukturalna analiza razkriva pomene neke folklorne naracije na dveh ravneh: na deklarativni ravni ali na ravni izraza oziroma vsebine, ter na globlji, nevidni ravni ali na ravni družbenega strukturiranja neke naracije. Avtorica med vrsticami priznava, da je dosledna aplikacija strukturalizma in semiotike na področje folkloristike zahtevna teoretska pasijansa in utrudljiva metodološka sestavljanka naracij,

besed, znakov in pomenov, vendar klub temu ne skriva užitka ob izvajanju te intelektualne vaje.

Antropološkost v branje predlagane monografije je v tem, da disciplinarno polje folkloristike podvrže večplastni metodološki, teoretski, epistemološki in konceptualni kritiki nekaterih tradicionalnih paradig in pokaže na neizkoriščen potencial relacijskega načina mišljenja, ki ga vsebujejo interpretacijski modeli, kakršne so ponudili Fine, Milošević - Đorđević, Crane, Greimas in avtorica knjige. V tem vidimo presežek, ki avtorico vodi od folkloristike k antropologiji folklore. Antropologija folklore, kakršno predstavi Dragana Antonijević, se nahaja v refleksiji disciplinarne in družbene skonstruiranosti folkloristike, njenih teorij, ideologij in predmetov preučevanja. Bistvo antropologije folklore je opredeljeno z bistvenim spoznavnim postulatом razčiščevanja generičnega razmerja opazovalca do opazovanega oziroma ozaveščanja teoretika do objekta teorije. S tem avtorica preseže zlepljenje oziroma spojitev raziskovalca z objektom raziskovanja, kar se je vse pre pogosto dogajalo folkloristom v preteklosti. Antropologija folklore ali folkloristike je torej nekakšen epistemološki premik v perspektivi obravnavanja metodoloških, teoretskih in empiričnih problemov v folklorističnem polju.

Folkloristika je v preteklosti pogosto konstruirala svoje predmete preučevanja (denimo ustno izročilo, duhovno in materialno kulturo, šege in navade, bajke, ljudske legende ipd.), ne da bi reflektirala svojo lastno strokovnjaško pozicijo, svoje prijeme in znanstvene metode objektivacije, s pomočjo katere se v znanostih sploh lahko mislijo družbeni fenomeni. Knjiga Dragane Antonijević nas pripelje v polje, kjer se folkloristika kaže kot

družbeno skonstruirana akademska realiteta. In tu je pomembna epistemološka poanta antropologije folklore: ta se ne konstituira kot znanost in vednost zgolj s tem, da reflektira, komentira ali le dokumentira legende, bajke, pravljice ali kakšno drugo sodobno ljudsko izročilo, pač pa s tem, ko si zagotovi ustrezen interpretativni horizont, s katerega lahko gleda na svojo lastno teoretsko prakso in jo v postopku avtoanalize kritično ovrednoti. V pristopu Dragane Antonijević k folkloristiki in folklori je nekaj bourdieuevskega. Pokaže namreč, da ni družbeno skonstruiran le svet folklornih žanrov in narativnih struktur, pač pa tudi njihovi teoretiki in raziskovalci, torej sami folkloristi, katerih skonstruiranost je odvisna od njihove pozicije v (nacionalno zamišljenem) družbenem prostoru, v polju lastne discipline ter drugih družbenih in humanističnih znanostih, v lokalni akademski in intelektualni klienteli, v distanci, ki jo imajo do skupnostnih ideologij in drugih esencionaliziranih kategorizacij. Avtorica s svojo analizo znane urbane legende o sostanovalkini smrti implicitno poda tudi odgovor na vprašanje, kako se učenjak, naj bo teoretik ali empirik, lahko zoperstavi pogojem lastne družbene skonstruiranosti: zoperstavi se lahko samo tako, da nenehno reflektira svoje lastne pozicije, izhodišča in početja v znanstvenem podjetju. In to je avtorici pričujoče knjige zgledno uspelo. Za vse, ki se zanimajo za folklorne naracije z vidika kulturne oziroma socialne antropologije, etnologije, sociologije ali semiotike, je monografija Dragane Antonijević zelo vredno referenčno delo.

Vlado Kotnik

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**NEUSTAVLJIVI MOTOR PRIMORSKEGA ŠOLSTVA.
OB 70-LETNICI PROF. DR. LUCIJE ČOK**

V današnji družbi se nam včasih zazdi, da primanjkuje ljudi, ki so pripravljeni za svoje ideje ali skupne družbene ideje vložiti ves svoj napor in angažiranje ter se ob tem, iz strahu ali oportunisti, ne ustaviti ob prvih sapicah, ki pihajo nasproti. Pa vendar so tudi taki ljudje med nami in ena od njih je nedvomno prof. dr. Lucija Čok, ki v letošnjem letu obeležuje pomemben osebni jubilej. To je priložnost, da se ozremo v preteklost in ponovno ugotovimo, kaj vse je z zavzetostjo in pogumom dosegla na svoji življenjski poti Lucija Čok, redna profesorica didaktike večjezičnosti in medkulturnosti, znanstvena svetnica na področju preučevanja zgodnje večjezičnosti, prva rektorica Univerze na Primorskem. Lucija Čok je oseba, ki je na več vodstvenih funkcijah pomembno sooblikovala osnove visokega šolstva na



Primorskem in v Sloveniji, še posebej tesno pa je njena poklicna pot povezana z nastankom in razvojem primorske univerze.

Kot rojena Primorka je ne glede na različne funkcije bila in je še vedno povezana predvsem s primorskim in še posebej istrskim prostorom. Tako je celotno svoje delovanje posvetila primorskemu šolstvu, ki ga je gradila v raznih vlogah in z različnimi dejavnostmi: kot mlada, zagnana učiteljica italijanskega in francoskega jezika, kot svetovalka za italijanski jezik na koprski območni enoti Zavoda RS za šolstvo, kot predavateljica in vodja koprskeske enote Pedagoške fakultete, ki je bila tedaj še v okviru Univerze v Ljubljani. Že v tistih časih se je dejavno vključila tudi v prizadevanja za oblikovanje nove, primorske univerze. Kot prva direktorica Znanstvenoraziskovalnega središča Koper v letih 1995–2000 je prispevala k regionalnemu razvoju družbe znanja in k oblikovanju znanstvenoraziskovalne in kadrovske osnove za novo univerzo. Hkrati je vodila ekspertno skupino za pripravo programov Fakultete za humanistične študije v Kopru in je po registraciji fakultete kot samostojnega visokošolskega zavoda v letu 2000 prevzela zadolžitve vršilke dolžnosti dekanje Fakultete za humanistične študije.

Nato je sprejela povabilo tedanjega predsednika Vlade RS Janeza Drnovška in v letih 2000–2002 je bila ministrica za šolstvo, znanost in šport. Kot ministrica je prispevala k pripravi nekaterih podlag integracije Slovenije v Evropski raziskovalni prostor – ERA (zakon o RR dejavnosti, analize raziskovalne dejavnosti in vloge držav kandidat v pristopu k EU). Prav tako so bili v tistem času izpeljani ključni koraki za ustanovitev Univerze na Primorskem, ki je bila ustanovljena v letu 2003, in njena prva rektorica je postala prav Lucija Čok. Kot rektorica je povezovala raziskovalno in izobraževalno delo na univerzi, zagotavljala partnerske vloge študentov, sodelovanje univerze z gospodarstvom in oblikovanje odprte, kakovostne in inovativne slovenske univerze.

Danes sodeluje v ekspertnih telesih, ki oblikujejo strategije prenove visokega šolstva in raziskovanja ter jezikovnih politik v državah Sloveniji in v Evropski komisiji, od 2008 tudi v Evropski zvezi univerz (EUA).

Seveda pa je Lucija Čok vseskozi bila in ostajala tudi raziskovalka. Svoje raziskovalno delo osredotoča na pojave, ki spremljajo jezike in kulture v stiku, učenje jezikov, vzgojo za sobivanje in sožitje kultur in etnij. Njeni raziskovalni dosežki so objavljeni v več jezikih, predavala je na več tujih univerzah. Vodi in koordinira domače in tuje projekte s področij didaktike jezikov, zgodnjega večjezičnega opismenjevanja, medkulturne komunikacije. S svojim delom sooblikuje empirično prakso modelov dvojezičnega šolstva na jezikovno in kulturno stičnih okoljih.

Za promocijo in uveljavljanje dvojezičnosti v Slovenski Istri je prejela več priznanj na lokalni in državni ravni pa tudi v tujini, kot so: priznanje Pedagoške fa-

kultete v Ljubljani, plaketo »Una vita per l'italiano« Univerze Ca' Foscari v Benetkah, priznanje »Zlata plaketa Univerze na Primorskem«, Bartolovo nagrado za učitelja Fakultete za humanistične študije Univerze na Primorskem, nagrado Glasnik znanosti Znanstveno-raziskovalnega središča Univerze na Primorskem. Za njene dejavnosti pri uveljavljanju francoske kulture in jezika ter strategij za spoštovanje jezikovnih različnosti jo je predsednik Republike Francije odlikoval z visokim priznanjem viteza legije časti. Predsednik Republike Italije pa ji je podelil naslov viteza Republike Italije. Novembra 2010 ji je Slovenski znanstveni inštitut na Dunaju ob svoji 10-letnici podelil častno članstvo za podporo delovanja inštituta. Kot rektorica primorske univerze je namreč z različnimi dejanji podpore stala inštitutu ob strani. UP je v času njenega rektorovanja postala tudi soustanoviteljica inštituta.

Njena prizadevanja, da se kulturna prepletanja in jezikovna raznolikost ohranijo tako v dejanjih kot v

znanstvenih utemeljitvah, so nastajala v njenem neposrednem pedagoškem delu na različnih stopnjah izobraževanja, v mnogih raziskovalnih dosežkih ter v promociji Istre kot jezikovnega in kulturnega laboratorija Evrope na tujih univerzah, mednarodnih konferencah in v znanstvenih objavah. Njeno vsestransko delovanje in njene osebnostne lastnosti, med njimi predvsem izjemna ustvarjalnost, vztrajnost in vitalnost, so nedvomno lahko za zgled mlajšim generacijam, pred katerimi je podobna naloga, kot je bila nekoč pred mlado Lučko: preizkusiti se v najrazličnejših družbenih vlogah z namenom širiti stare družbene okvire in vzpostavljati ter uresničevati sveže poglede in nove, še višje cilje. In lahko rečemo, da je Lucija Čok to nalogo že do sedaj zelo uspešno opravila. Seveda ji želimo, da skupaj z nami s takim uspehom še naprej izpolnjuje svoje in naše skupno družbeno poslanstvo.

Vesna Mikolič